

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



Scientists and Shakespeare
The Roaring Boy Again (Part I)
Shakspeare, Guilpin, and Essex
Another Medieval Parallel to the
Jessica and Lorenzo Story
Annual Bibliography of Shaksperiana

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SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, and DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM
as Contributing Editors, and with HARDIN CRAIG as Advisor.

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SCIENTISTS AND SHAKESPEARE

BY S. BLAINE EWING

SHAKESPEARE was once a New World of criticism and scholarship. He was discovered in his own time by a little band of English explorers, of whom the chief was perhaps Ben Jonson:

I, therefore will begin. Soule of the Age!

The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!¹

Since then, he has been mapped, first in outline, then in ever increasing detail and accuracy, until one would have supposed that every territory had been opened and exploited and every resource prospected and mined. Long since occupied by the poets and critics, he later attracted to his green fields many another settler of more diverse and special interests: the astrologer and astronomer, the botanist, the lawyer, the ornithologist, the philosopher, the physician, the psychologist, and even the meteorologist and pharmacologist, to name no more. But not until 1947 did any specialist provide a geological map!² As far as can be learned, no pure chemist has yet analyzed "this solidity and compound mass;"³ perhaps all are repelled by the fact that Shakespeare naturally held to the only chemistry of his time, the heretical discipline of alchemy; and no physicist has yet fissioned Shakespeare's atom, although many a non-physicist has tried to find his nucleus.

If one be ambitious to read all the reports of these special students of Shakespeare, he must now be prepared to number them in the hundreds and must extend his purview beyond the journals of the humanities, to include not only popular magazines and even local newspapers,⁴ but also journals of the sciences like *The Scientific Monthly* and publications of local associations like The Engineers Club of Baltimore. It is my purpose briefly to view the contents of two current essays⁵ of this sort which might otherwise escape notice and to consider some of their implications.

The immediate contribution of these essays to Shakespeare scholarship is unassuming indeed. Professor Willard collects the

passages in poems and plays which are of interest to the student of three divisions of his subject, mineralogy, lithology, and physiography, and makes passing reference to three others, meteorology, seismology, and volcanology. Since the deeper reaches of the science are never involved and the technical terms are immediately understandable to the reader, Willard gives no definitions. And since most of the references are incidental to the more pressing business of the play—its action, characters, scenes, or thought—he cuts them as clean from their context as fossils to be put in a museum showcase. As a result much of the collection is reduced to lists of phrases, or even to lists of line-numbers. Only occasionally is the finding long enough to allow continuous quotation; as, under "Mineralogy," the description of precious stones in *A Lover's Complaint*, 211-217; and, under "Physiography," Edgar's description of the Cliffs of Dover.⁶

Mr. King's article is quite different in purpose. Originally delivered as an address before the Maryland Academy of Sciences, it makes no pretense of being an original contribution to learning. It is rather a hasty survey of the stage of development which science had reached in the time of Shakespeare in the subjects of astronomy, medicine, mathematics, alchemy, and others, with apt illustrations from Shakespeare where possible; such as Lorenzo's beautiful reference to the music of the spheres in *The Merchant of Venice* (5.1.58-65). None of the material presented would be novel to the informed student of the English Renaissance,⁷ but might well be so to a general audience of practicing engineers, for whom it was primarily designed. King indulges in some bardolatry,⁸ but, by and large, he gives his reader correct orientation in the intellectual climate of the Renaissance, never ascribing to Shakespeare an interest in science which actually is the interest that a modern scientifically trained reader, wise after the fact, may find in the plays and poems:

"The everyday life of Shakespeare and ninety-nine out of a hundred of his contemporaries ran its course without benefit of science. They lived and loved and fought and died knowing and caring nothing for the work of the few true scientists who were planting and cultivating the tree of scientific knowledge. . . ."⁹

There are a few errors in both essays, which are due to inadequate knowledge of the available maps of the World of Shakespeare, and which may be illustrated by means of one example from each. Willard would never have felt that the phrase "to do me business in the veins o' the' earth"¹⁰ "was slightly ambiguous"¹¹ if he were in-

formed in the common Renaissance demonology which assigned each supernatural being to his proper "element"—fire, air, water, earth, even hell or mineral under the earth¹²—just as it did each natural being to his element. Ariel, a spirit of air, was able under Prospero's enchantment to act in all elements:

"All hail, great master! grave sir, hail! I come
To answer thy best pleasure, be't to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curl'd clouds to thy strong bidding task
Ariel and all his quality"¹³

Naturally, therefore, he can do Prospero's bidding in the veins of the earth. And King would never have implied that Renaissance books of science written in Latin were necessarily closed to Shakespeare because of his "small Latine and less Greeke"¹⁴ if he were familiar with T. W. Baldwin's recent monumental study¹⁵ of Shakespeare's schooling; in which Ben Jonson's phrase is demonstrated to mean that Shakespeare possessed the Latin reading ability of the Elizabethan grammar school student (a high proficiency, by modern standards) as distinguished from the scholar's special ability which Jonson himself enjoyed.

Yet the contribution of these papers is not wholly to be disparaged. Their significance, though modest, is a general one, and may best be viewed against the background of general tendencies in modern thought.

First, Willard's article, (if not King's) is to be welcomed because of its freshness. It is true that Cumberland Clark, in *Shakespeare and Science*¹⁶ has treated earthquakes and the ocean with somewhat greater inclusiveness and interest, and one reviewer of Clark's book made a curious anticipation¹⁷ of two of Willard's geological quotations, but there is no other repetition. This novelty is a pleasant contrast to the dreary multiplication in some other areas of the study of Shakespeare's knowledge, such as medicine.¹⁸ Perhaps to find "Nilus' slime"¹⁹ plucked out of Antony's oath of submission to Cleopatra and disenchanted to a place among "unconsolidated sediments and soils"²⁰ may prove too fresh for some tastes; yet this is nothing in a day when scholarship unbends so far as to make capital and good fun out of flyspecks²¹ and crushed roaches.²²

Second, they are indicators that scientists in general, as well as their leaders in thought, may be feeling greater interest in the human-

ities, searching perhaps for nuggets of old truth which were cast aside during the era when science thought it had a bright new process to smelter from easier veins all the truth that mattered. If so more scientists may become part of that collective enterprise which aims at breaking down artificial barriers between subjects, periods, nationalities, or languages, to render the study of any phenomenon—literary, historical, scientific—as broad as were the forces which went to produce it, and which is called the History of Ideas. "All historians" says A. O. Lovejoy, "seek in some sense and to some degree to discern causal relations between events. . . . In so far as the endeavor to trace such relations stops at the boundaries of one or another of these divisions, there is always a high probability that some of the most significant . . . relations will be missed. It has even sometimes happened that a conception of major historic influence and importance has long gone unrecognized, because its various manifestations . . . are so widely dispersed among different fields of historical study, that no specialist in any one of these fields became distinctly aware of it at all."²³

The contribution which these articles make to such a purpose is real, if largely negative. King, reading his Shakespeare from the point of view of an experienced engineer, says with clarity, and a hint of personal disappointment, that he does *not* find a knowledge of science in Shakespeare:

"We cannot expect Shakespeare to tell us directly of science, but he will tell us very clearly by indirection of the lack of science, as we understand it, in the life around him and also about some of the things the average man of his day would have thought of as science."²⁴

Willard, reading as a geologist, also frank and a little disconcerted, remarks on the barrenness of the very hills he has chosen to dig: "volcanism is given short shrift;" "Of nonprecious minerals, the list is only fairly impressive;" "Shakespeare's list of metals is astonishingly brief;" "Plains and mountains are given scant treatment;"²⁵ but expresses a pleasure which the reader shares when he hits pay dirt: for example, "those magnificent six lines from *Henry IV*, Part II (3.1.46-51), on the wasting away of the land, the interchange of land and sea."²⁶ He makes emphatic note of the surprising absence of tin:

"Surely, the Cornish mines should have been known to Shakespeare, and, with such alloys as brass and bronze in daily use, it is odd to find tin omitted."²⁷

One is quick to admit that he does not know what significance, minor or far-reaching, the absence of tin may have in the future study of Shakespeare, but he would be bold indeed who asserted that it can have no significance.

To be reassured that such a purpose is interesting and rewarding, one need only turn to typical recent examples of the study of Shakespeare's "scientific" ideas and of the application of the history of ideas to the poet. Marjorie Nicolson applies the findings of A. O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being* to the "council scenes" in *Troilus and Cressida* to reveal that the speech of Ulysses,²⁸ once the subject of controversy, is merely the accepted, conservative doctrine of the Renaissance on the order of the universe, a doctrine perhaps "new to us, but old to Shakespeare."²⁹ G. W. Knight, by studying what the scientists might label Shakespeare's meteorology, reveals that storms are used in the plays with what the author considers a consistent symbolism to represent "the tempestuousness at the heart of existence."³⁰ W. C. Curry, by study of the pseudo-science of theurgy, or white magic, not only illuminates the meaning of *The Tempest* but reveals Shakespeare's responsiveness to the intellectual currents of his time, in that, while *Macbeth* is mediaeval, scholastic, and Christian, *The Tempest* is Renaissance, Neoplatonic, and pagan.³¹ Moreover, that much scientific and pseudo-scientific information which may seem bookish to the twentieth century reader was common and current in the mind of the Elizabethan man of ordinary education is more than suggested by several recent studies of Renaissance learning: Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass*,³² Alfred Harbage's *Shakespeare's Audience*,³³ Francis R. Johnson's *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*,³⁴ and Louis B. Wright's *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*.³⁵

Shakespeare, then, is a world into the creation of which went little of the mineral which we call science. Is the further prospecting so meagre a vein worth the doing? If the scientist means only to indulge his own pleasure—to add another to the library of books properly titled "What Shakespeare Means to Me"³⁶—only he can answer the question. But the student of the Renaissance is most likely to answer his question with a "yes," if the scientist offers himself in such a way that he can be most fully utilized; namely, by making a closer

alliance with the party which has already for so long been in the field and by contributing his own special training and ability to the joint effort. Among its equipment he will find many fine charts, to save him from needlessly scouting the cliffs prospected many times before and from hunting for deposits that the hills are too young to bear. In the party he will find assay agents to give him authoritative judgment on the value of his findings, and even refineries to purify his metal—well, at least to cleanse it of some of its dross!—before it is put on the open market. Only then, perhaps, will he be able to say with Theseus (though still out of context):

"Where I have come, great clerks have purposed
To greet me with premeditated welcomes."³⁷

¹*The Shakespeare Allusion-Book*, edited by Sir Edmund Chambers, (Oxford, 1932) I, 309

²Bradford Willard "The Geology of Shakespeare," *The Scientific Monthly*, LXV, No 5 (November 1947), 399-404

³*Hamlet*, 3 4 49 References to Shakespeare are to the edition by W J Craig and Edward Dowden, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1925-27)

⁴See P S Clarkson and C T Warren "A Comparative and Critical Analysis of Shakespeare's Law," *Daily Record* (Baltimore), April 20, 1937, p 3 Referred to by Hazelton Spencer *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, (N Y, 1940), p 437

⁵Willard, *op cit*, and Thomson King "The Science of Shakespeare's Time," *The Baltimore Engineer*, XXI, No 8 (February 1947)

⁶*King Lear* 4 6 11-23

⁷For the science, he might turn to Lynn Thorndike *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vols V and VI The Sixteenth Century, (N Y, 1941), for astrology, Don Cameron Allen *The Star-Crossed Renaissance*, (Durham, N C, 1941) for astronomy, Francis R Johnson *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*, (Baltimore, 1937), for medicine, see below, note 18, for alchemy, Robert Steele, "Alchemy," *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, I, 462-474

⁸"He was the supreme artist in the use of words His powers of observation were phenomenal His knowledge and portrayal of human nature have left a record for all time of what he saw and thought " *Op cit* p 2

⁹*Op cit*, p 3 See, to same effect, Willard's statement "That (Shakespeare) could not possibly have had any knowledge of geology as we today understand it is axiomatic " *Op cit*, p 339

¹⁰*The Tempest* 1 2 255

¹¹Willard, *op cit*, p 401.

¹²See, e.g., Samuel Johnson's note, in the *Variorum Tempest*, (Philadelphia, 1892), p 57 See especially W C Curry's excellent study, "Sacerdotal Science in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CLXVIII (1935), 25-36, 185-196

¹³*The Tempest* 1 2 189-193

¹⁴King, *op cit*, p 3

¹⁵*William Shakespeare's 'Small Latine and Lesse Greeke'*, (Urbana, Ill)

¹⁶(Birmingham, England, 1929), pp 189-191, 199-212

¹⁷*Times Literary Supplement* (London) February 13, 1930, p 121

¹⁹Including books (not articles) which contain discussions of Shakespeare's medicine, one notes the following titles, here arranged in chronological order J C Bucknill *The Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare*, (London 1860) Robert Cartwright *The Footsteps of Shakespeare*, (London 1862) H Aubert *Shakespeare als Mediziner*, (Rostock, 1873) J A Morgan *Shakespeare in Fact and Criticism*, (N Y 1888) John Moyes *Medicine and Kindred Arts in the Plays of Shakespeare*, (Glasgow, 1896) W Kuhne *Venus, Amor, und Bacchus in Shakespeares Dramen Eine Medizinisch-Poetische Studie*, (Braunschweig, 1902) J W Wainwright *The Medical and Surgical Knowledge of William Shakespeare*, (N Y 1915) A H G Doran "Medicine," *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford 1916, I, 413-443 Sir D'Arcy Power *The Place of the Tudor Surgeons in English Literature*, (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1927) H B Epstein *William Shakespeare, M D.*, (Newark, N J, 1932) André Adnès *Shakespeare et la Folie Etude Médico-Psychologique*, (Paris, 1936) Wolfgang Clemen "Das Krankheitssymbol bei Shakespeare," *Shakespeares Bilder*, (Bonn, 1936) H Pomeranz *Medicine in the Shakespearean Plays and Dickens' Doctors*, (N Y 1936) B T Stewart *The Renaissance Interpretation of Dreams and Their Use in Elizabethan Drama Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, Northwestern University*, X (1942) 33-36 J W Draper *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters*, (Durham, N C, 1945) P H Duffy *The Theory and Practice of Medicine in Elizabethan England as Illustrated by Certain Dramatic Texts*, *Harvard University Summaries of Theses*, 1942, pp 268-271, (Cambridge, Mass, 1946)

²⁰*Antony and Cleopatra* 1 3 69

²¹Willard, *op cit*, p 402

²²R M Smith "Fly-Specks and Folios," *The Colophon*, New Series, Vol I, No I, pp 25-32

²³Alfred Harbage *Shakespeare's Audience*, (N Y, 1941), p 145

²⁴"Reflections on the History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I (1940), 4 For typical points of view critical in varying degrees of the history of ideas, see L C Knight's "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Climate," *Scrutiny* XII (1944) 146-152. B T Spencer "Shakespeare, with and without Tears," *Sewanee Review*, 50 (1942) 545-556, Leo Spitzer "History of Ideas versus Reading of Poetry," *Southern Review*, VI (1941) 584-609, Mark Van Doren *Shakespeare*, (N Y, 1939)

²⁵*Op cit*, p 3

²⁶*Op cit*, pp 400-402

²⁷*Ibid*, p 403

²⁸*Ibid*, p 401

²⁹*Troilus and Cressida* 1 3 74 ff

³⁰"The History of Literature and the History of Thought," *English Institute Annual*, 1939, (N Y, 1940), pp 73-74

³¹*The Shakespearean Tempest*, (Oxford, 1932), p 16

³²*Op cit* See note 12, above See also Marjorie Nicholson's distinguished series of articles on the effect of the telescope and microscope on the imagination of the seventeenth century and after *The Microscope and English Imagination* Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol XVI, No 4, (Northampton, Mass, 1935) "Milton and the Telescope," *ELH* II (1935) 1-32 "The 'New Astronomy' and English Literary Imagination," *Studies in Philology*, XXXII (1935), 428-462 "The Telescope and Imagination," *Modern Philology* XXXII (1935), 233-260 *A World in the Moon* Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol XVII, No 2 (Northampton, Mass, 1936)

³³(N Y, 1936).

³⁴(N Y, 1941)

³⁵See note 7, above

³⁶(Chapel Hill, N C., 1935)

³⁷Cf Hazleton Spencer, *op cit*, p viii

³⁸*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, 5 1 93-94



THE ROARING BOY AGAIN

BY WILLIAM PEERY

(Part I)

M R. Burton Milligan has recently attempted to correct what he considered "certain misconceptions . . . which need correction"¹ about "The Roaring Boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature." Two such misconceptions were alleged: a belief that roaring boys "flourished only in Shakspeare's England"² and an assumption "that thievery and the pretended character of a gentleman are as definitely typical of the roaring boys as roistering, bullying, and vandalism."³ The body of Milligan's article is devoted to an attempt "not only to present evidence corrective of the misconceptions" alleged "but also to establish from literary and historical sources the conventionalized description and characteristic behavior of roaring boys."⁴ I reopen the subject to examine Milligan's evidence more closely, to question whether his alleged misconceptions are misconceptions, and to add to his evidence certain roaring boys of such importance that they can not well be omitted from a study of the roaring boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature.

Let us consider the first alleged misconception, that roaring boys flourished only in Shakspeare's England. If our results are to be valid, it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between *roaring boys* as a specialized term, as does the *Oxford English Dictionary*,⁵ and the practice of *roaring*, or boisterous nocturnal rioting generally. Milligan bases his claim that the first alleged misconception exists, on the *O. E. D.* definition of *roaring boys*: "riotous fellows of the time of Elizabeth and James I."⁶ "But," he adds,

very little investigation is needed to show that they were numerous much earlier and much later than the designated period, as well as during it. Both literary and historical evidence shows that they were a familiar type from the early sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century.⁷

To place *roaring boys* in the time of Elizabeth and James is not to say that no use of this term in earlier or later times can be found. Indeed, one of the examples given by the *O. E. D.* but not mentioned by Milligan, is dated 1659,⁸ indicating that its editors did not make the mistake of supposing that all roaring boys were instantly silenced at the accession of Charles I.

The chief obstacle to our getting at relative truth amid the references Milligan collects is his failure to make the distinction mentioned above. His "literary and historical evidence" includes references both to roaring boys proper and so termed, and to other varieties of rioters and roisterers. The latter references should, I submit, be excluded from present consideration since, human nature being what it is, we may agree that rioters and roisterers have been among us for a very long time. Milligan mentions in footnote⁹ that a certain Elmer de Multone was indicted as a "rorere" as early as 1311. It seems fair to assume that Milligan knew, too, not only of the bands of seventeenth-century rioters discussed in an article to which he refers¹⁰ but also of Greek and Roman predecessors of the English Tityretus.¹¹ I question whether the editors of the *O. E. D.* may rightly be charged with having any misconception of the term under discussion. To call roaring boys "riotous fellows of the time of Elizabeth and James I" is somewhat short of saying that men have not prowled the streets, bullied other men, drunk excessively, fought one another, and broken windows before and after the reigns of Elizabeth and James. The editors of the *O. E. D.* in their examples show familiarity with these time-honored practices of roasters. The verb *roar*, which they define in this sense as "to revel boisterously; to behave in a noisy, riotous manner"¹²; the noun *roarer*, "A noisy, riotous bully or reveller; a wild roisterer"¹³; the gerund *roaring*, "Bullying, boisterous, or riotous conduct"¹⁴; and the participle *roaring*, "Behaving or living in a noisy, riotous manner"¹⁵—were used in these special senses far on either side the limits 1558-1625.¹⁶ It seems manifestly unfair, in the light of these definitions, to charge the editors of the *O. E. D.* with making the assumption that rioting and bullying "flourished only in Shakspeare's England"; yet such is the effect of admitting as evidence, as Milligan does, any references which are not clearly to *roaring boys* proper. Particularly to be excluded as evidence is all of Milligan's "historical" material.¹⁷ The "strange outrages . . . breaking of windows, &c.," including a riot with the watch, staged by "some young gentlemen of the Temple" in 1681/2, described by Luttrell;

the window-breaking of Surrey and the son of Wyatt; and the brawl at Epsom involving Etherege and Rochester—all resemble the behavior of roaring boys in important particulars, but no contemporary account with which I am acquainted calls these men either roaring boys or roars. I see little resemblance between the typical behavior of roaring boys and the fight at Deptford in which Marlowe was killed or the Jonson-Spencer duel. The inclusion of such material suggests that perhaps all of the evidence presented by Milligan needs to be reexamined before one may conclude that any misconception is prevalent as to the time at which roaring boys flourished.

The passage which Milligan cites¹⁸ from Barclay's *The Ship of Fools* (1509), from a chapter titled "Of nyght watchers and beters of the stretes playnge by nyght on instrumentes and vsynge lyke Folyes whan tyme is to rest,"¹⁹ describes "Some other Folyes" whose behavior is comparable to but not closely parallel to that of roaring boys. Barclay does not use the term *roaring boy* or even the specialized senses of *roar*, *roaring*, or *roarer*. The passage is not, therefore, an instance of pre-Elizabethan roaring boys in a strict sense. This is the only evidence from pre-Elizabethan literature cited by Milligan. Thus he has not established that roaring boys "were numerous much earlier" than the time of Elizabeth; and the social status of Barclay's "Folyes" and Milligan's comment that Barclay "does not, certainly, imply that they are either thieves or professional criminals,"²⁰ are seen to be irrelevant.

Turning to evidence from literature later than 1625, one finds again that the passages quoted describe rioters in general, not *roaring boys*. Milligan twice quotes²¹ from *The Nicker Nicked* (1669),²² which is concerned, as is indicated by its subtitle, "the Cheats of Gaming discovered," with gamblers, not roaring boys. One quotation alleges that Restoration gamblers were quarrelsome at ordinaries, as roaring boys certainly were.²³ The other objects to the gamblers' unprovoked blasphemy, which also is to be charged against roaring boys.²⁴ But in neither passage is anyone called a roaring boy or even a roarer. Similarly, the passages from *The Character of a Town-Gallant* (1675) and "The Town Bully's Bravery" (ca. 1690),²⁵ not applying to the roaring boy proper, are not to be admitted as evidence as to his time or character. One may expect to find the more general terms, *roar* and *roarer*, in some of the later quotations since, as one may see from the *O. E. D.* examples, these terms had currency longer than

roaring boy. The speech of Captain Hackum in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688),²⁰ therefore, though it includes the words "roared like thunder," does not, I submit, conclusively make Hackum a roaring boy. He is described in the *dramatis personae* as "A Block-headed Bully of *Alsatia*,"²¹ and the play was originally to have been titled *The Alsatia Bully*.²² Shadwell does not call Hackum a roaring boy as he would likely have done had the term been still in vogue and applicable to Hackum. Though Ramble and Scuffle in Massinger's *The City Madam* (1632) are called by Shave'em "swaggering,"²³ suburban roasters,²⁴ in the *dramatis personae* they are called "hectors."²⁵ Have-at-all and Slicer in Cartwright's *The Ordinary* (1634) may not properly be called roaring boys—neither that term nor *roar*, *roarer*, or *roaring* is used of them in the text. Have-at-all, moreover, whom Milligan takes as a type of sharper,²⁶ is primarily a cowardly gamester whom Slicer assists in "fleshing."²⁷ Except for quotations from the ballad, "The cheating Age," from Martin Parker's *The Libertine's Conversion*, and from *The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen*, this is all the evidence cited by Milligan for the flourishing of roaring boys after the time of James I.²⁸ The first-named work, which Milligan dates "c. 1626,"²⁹ was printed, according to Hyder E. Rollins, "before 1626,"³⁰ perhaps a year or two earlier.³¹ The second, which Milligan dates "c. 1628,"³² I think can not be dated exactly and—like "The cheating Age," *The City Madam*, and *The Ordinary*—is not to be dated far enough after 1625 as to be of weight in the question of when roaring boys flourished. The third was, it is true, printed some years after 1625; but it is said to have been "*Written much earlier*"³³ than 1649, Milligan's date for it.³⁴ Indeed, it has been called largely a reproduction³⁵ of and an adaptation³⁶ of a Jacobean work, W. M.'s *The Man in the Moone* (1609).

The University of Texas

(To be concluded in the April issue)

¹"The Roaring Boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature," *SAB*, XV (1940), 184

²*Ibid.* ³*Ibid.* ⁴*Ibid.*, p. 185

⁵s. v. boy, sb¹ 6 and s. roaring, ppl a 2

⁶s. v. boy, sb¹ 6 ⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 184

⁸"In hope to get such roaring boys as he," *Leg. Capt. Jones* (Halliwell).

⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 190, n. 3

¹⁰T. S. Graves, "Some Pre-Mohock Clansmen," *SP*, XX (1923), 395-421. It seems surprising that Milligan, who by *roaring boys* means nocturnal rioters rather generally, does not include in his survey a discussion of the Tityretus and Bugle-blues.

¹¹A fair assumption since the article by W B McDaniel, "Some Greek, Roman and English Tityretus," *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV (1914), 52-66, is cited by Graves.

¹²s. v, v 1 b

¹³s. v, 1 b

¹⁴s. v, vbl. sb 2

¹⁵s. v., ppl a. 2

¹⁶The examples range from Wycliff to Scott: Wycliff, *Ecclesiasticus*, LI 4. "And thou hast deliuered me fro roeris" [*The Holy Bible*. . by John Wycliffe and His Followers, ed. Forshall and Madden (4 vols; Oxford, 1850), III, 221]; Walter Scott, *Woodstock*. "These were the 'roaring boys' who met in hedge alehouses" [(Boston, 1923), II, 39-40]

¹⁷*Op. cit.*, p 189

¹⁸*Op. cit.*, p 185

¹⁹Ed T. H. Jamieson (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1874), I, 296

²⁰*Op. cit.*, p 185

²¹*Op. cit.*, pp 185 and 187

²²The third edition of this pamphlet is reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany* (8 vols; London, 1744-1746), II, 96-98—not, as Milligan twice says [p 190, nn 5 and 11], in Vol. VII He may have been using the Park edition but does not so specify

²³The passage is inexactly quoted Silently omitting *who* between *one* and *has*, Milligan supplies a new subject, *he*, which he brackets I find nothing in *The Nicker Nicked* to justify the statement that "the writer emphasizes the good humor of the gallants on their arrival at the ordinary" [Milligan, *op cit.*, p 185]

²⁴"Damn me"—a favorite oath of roaring boys, who were sometimes called Damnmies [Cf *Dodsley*, XI, 138, 139, 140]—begins the roaring boys' scene in Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1618), which will be discussed below

²⁵Milligan, *op cit.*, pp 186 and 188

²⁶*Ibid.*, p 190, n 7

²⁷*The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, ed Montague Summers (5 vols, London, 1927), IV, 207

²⁸*Ibid.*, p 197

²⁹This word is almost synonymous with *roaring* To swagger, according to the *O E D.* [s. v., v. 1], is "To behave with an air of superiority, in a blustering, insolent, or defiant manner," and, specifically, "To talk blusteringly, to hector" [16] "There comes no swaggerers here," the Hostess tells Falstaff, who replies that Pistol is "no swagg'rer, hostess—a tame cheater, i'faith" [2 *Hen IV*, 2 488 and 105f, ed G L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936)] *Swaggerers* is used as a synonym for *roaring boys* in reference to a band of rioters also called *rambling boys* in Field's *Amends for Ladies* [*Dodsley*, XI, 125 and 126]

³⁰*The Plays of Philip Massinger*, ed W Gifford (4 vols, London, 1813), IV, 52

³¹*Ibid.*, p 4

³²*Op cit.*, p 188

³³*Dodsley*, X, 192-198 Cf what Welltried does for Feesimple in *Amends for Ladies* 3.4, discussed later

³⁴Other references to roaring boys after 1625 might have been found, though from their nature one can not be sure that the groups were still in existence and under the same name Roarers and roaring are mentioned by Dekker in *Londons Tempe* (1629) [*Dramatic Works*, ed R H Shepherd (4 vols, London, 1873), IV, 124], by Shirley in *The Ball* (1632) [*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman*, ed T M Parrott (2 vols., New York, 1910-1914) II, 584]; and in *The Gamester* (1633) [*The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, ed Alexander Dyce (6 vols, London, 1833), III, 199] In John Kirke's *The Seven Champions of Christendome* (1635), Suckabus the clown complains that his master George leads him "into more quarrels and dangers than all the roaring Davids in the world" [11 1929f, ed Giles E Dawson, *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, n s Vol XXXII, No. 16 (1929)]. Later he calls the champions "seven roaring boyes, That made such a damnable thunder through the world" [11. 2606f] Milligan mentions none of these works

³⁵*Op cit.*, p 187

³⁶*A Pepysian Garland* (Cambridge, 1922), p 244.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 234, 239

³⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 186.

³⁹Richard Aldington, *A Book of 'Characters'* (London, undated), p 382

⁴⁰He presumably followed Aldington, who may have obtained his date from the *CHEL*, IV, 391 *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* [ed F W Bateson (4 vols; New York, 1941), I, 724] and Pollard and Redgrave, however, date *The Wandering Jew* 1640 [*Short-Title Catalogue* no. 11512, p 253] It is available to me, as presumably to Milligan, only in Aldington

⁴¹*CHEL*, IV, 391

⁴²*CHEL*, I, 724.



SHAKSPERE, GUILPIN, and ESSEX

BY EDWARD S. LE COMTE

Gower's interesting description in *Henry the Fifth* (III, vi, 72-88) of braggart camp followers contains a reference that seems to stand in need of explanation.

Why, 'tis a gull, a fool, a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier. And such fellows are perfect in the great commanders' names, and they will learn you by rote where services were done; at such and such a sconce, at such a breach, at such a convoy; who came off bravely, who was shot, who disgraced, what terms the enemy stood on; and this they con perfectly in the phrase of war, which they trick up with new-tuned oaths and what a beard of the general's cut and a horrid suit of the camp will do among foaming bottles and ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on. But you must learn to know such slanders of the age, or else you may be marvellously mistook.

What is meant by "a beard of the general's cut"? Do generals have distinctive beards?

One general had, and was copied. This of course is the play notable for its open allusion (in the Chorus to Act V) to "the general of our gracious empress," Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. After the Cadiz expedition of 1596 Essex took to wearing a full beard: it got a certain fame as "the Cadiz beard," and set a fashion.¹ E. Guilpin satirised it in *Skialetheia* (1598). An engraving of Essex in 1600 shows this beard very amply.²

The first of Guilpin's references is simply "his face,/ Furr'd with *Cad's*-beard."³ But the other two are of considerable interest.

I know some of their humorous neere of kin,
Which scorne to speake to one which hath not bin
In one of these last voyages or to one
Which having bin there yet (though he have none)
Hath not a *Cades*-beard.⁴

There comes one in a muffler of Cadz-beard,
Frowning as he would make the world afeard,
With him a troupe all in gold-dawbed sutes,
Looking like *Talbots*, *Percies*, *Montagues*,
As if their very countenance would sweare,
The Spanyard should conclude a peace for feare.⁵

The passages from the satirist and the satirising dramatist are parallel. Shakspeare and Guilpin seem to be referring to the same phenomenon—not only to the same beard but to the same "slanders of the age."

Guilpin, however, unfriendly to mimickers of Essex, is also hostile to Essex himself, as witness the following:

For when great *Faelix* passing through the street,
Vayleth his cap to each one he doth meet,
And when no broome-man that will pray for him,
Shall have lesse truage than his bonnets brim,
Who would not thinke him perfect curtesie?
Or the honny-suckle of humilitie?
The devill he is as soone. he is the devill,
Brightly accoustred to bemist his evill:
Like a Swartrutters hose his puffe thoughts swell,
With yeastie ambition: *Signior Machiavell*
Taught him this mumming trick, with curtesie
T'entrench himselfe in popularitie,
And for a writhen face, and bodies move,
Be Barricadode in the peoples love.⁶

G. B. Harrison⁷ has noted this as an obvious reference to the crowd-courting Earl and caught the echo in it of the lines about Bolingbroke in *Richard the Second* (I, iv, 23-36). It remains to show that the appellation "Fælix" (or "Felix") is not accidental. We must recall Spenser's similar pun on "Devereux" in *Prothalamion*,⁸

Joy have thou of thy noble victorie,
 And endlesse happinesse of thine owne name
 That promiseth the same:

where, as R. E. Neil Dodge observes, "Devereux" is taken as equivalent to "*devenir heureux* or simply *heureux*."

Anyone bent on supporting the theory which identifies Hamlet with Essex could cite the line, "Absent thee from *felicity* awhile" and say that Shakspeare was the third poet to pun felicitously on the name!

University of California
Berkeley, California

¹G. B. Harrison, *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex* (New York, 1937), p. 130.

²Reproduced in Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

³B3v (Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 1931).

⁴D

⁵D5v This and the following quotation do not appear in the Ingleby-Smith-Furnivall-Munro *Shakspeare Allusion-Book* (London, 1932)

⁶"Satyra prima," C3v

⁷*Skiaetheta*, Introduction, vii-viii

⁸*Complete Poetical Works*, ed R. E. Neil Dodge, (Boston, 1908), pp. 152-154.



ANOTHER MEDIEVAL PARALLEL TO THE JESSICA AND LORENZO STORY

By JAMES L. WILSON

SOME years ago Mrs. Alice D. Brown pointed out that the theme of a Jewish maiden with a Christian lover (or seducer) was common in the *exempla* of the Middle Ages.¹ In none of the *exempla* cited by Mrs. Brown, however, does the Jewish girl desert her father and elope with her lover.

The Latin *exemplum* which Mrs. Brown prints² is the story of a Christian steward who betrays his Jewish master's trust by seducing the daughter. The girl warns her lover that her father can call up devils who will reveal all, and advises him to rob the treasury and flee. He does so, but soon confesses his sin and is assigned a penance. When the Jewish father calls up his devils one by one, the third to be called tells him that they have power over only three classes of people: "Jews, Saracens, and false Christians." Since the thief has confessed to a priest, they are powerless even to reveal his name or whereabouts. The Jew is so much impressed that he has himself and all his household baptized. Although the characters are, as Mrs. Brown says, prototypes of Jessica and Lorenzo, the story is not a parallel.

The story which aroused my interest is somewhat different. It is the story of Floripas in the medieval romance, *The Sultan of Babylon*.³ Floripas is not a Jewess, to be sure, but she is non-Christian, and she deceives and deserts her father with much less motive than Jessica had.

In this romance Roland and Oliver, captured by the Saracens, are condemned to death by Laban, Sultan of Babylon. Floripas persuades her father to keep them as hostages for her brother Ferumbras, who has been captured—and converted—by the French. The Sultan respects her judgment and follows her advice.

Saving the lives of Roland and Oliver is only the first kindly act on the part of Floripas. When she hears them moaning in prison, she suggests to her governess that they secretly give the two knights food and drink. Maragounde, the governess, says that such an act would be madness; the Sultan has given orders that the prisoners are not to be fed. But

Floripe by thought hir on a gyle
And cleped Maragounde anoon right,
To the wyndowe to come a while

* * *

Maragounde lokede oute, Floripe come nere,
And shofed hire oute into the flode
"Go there," she seide; "The devel the spede"
My counsail shaltowe never biwry."⁴

Nor is the murder of her governess the end of her violence. When the jailer refuses her permission to visit the prisoners, and starts to tell her father, she beats out his brains with the "keye cloge." Then she tells her father she caught the jailer feeding the prisoners and killed him with a mace. The Sultan thereupon decides that she is the very person to have charge of the prisoners and gives her "the warde."

She and her maidens take the prisoners to her tower and entertain them royally. Meanwhile the other ten Peers fall into Laban's hands and are likewise saved by the sly and treacherous counsel of Floripas. All goes well in Floripas' tower until King Lucafere of Baldas calls on the company one evening, and the Twelve Peers entertain themselves, and Floripas, by toasting him on the fire "Till he were rosted to colis ilkadele."⁵ Realizing that her father may miss such an important person as Lucafere, Floripas advises the Peers to attack the Sultan and his knights at supper.

The attack is successful, but the Sultan escapes, and at last even he realizes that Floripas is a traitor. He attacks the Peers in her tower. Floripas not only gives advice on the manner of conducting the defense, but she and her maidens bring rocks for the Peers to throw on the heads of her father and his men. Moreover, it was not love for either Roland or Oliver which has caused her to befriend them. When the other Peers arrive she declares her love for Guy of Burgundy,

and with the help of Roland and Oliver, she persuades him to accept her as his betrothed, promising that she will become a Christian.

At the end of the story it is Ferumbras, the Sultan's other child, who decides that it is useless to try to convert Laban, and it is he who first voices the opinion that the Sultan must be executed. The reason for the cruelty of the Sultan's two children is quite obvious. In the romances there are two sides: the "good" or Christian side, and the "bad" or Saracen side. Once Floripas and Ferumbras had joined the "good" side, they had to become implacable enemies of the Sultan. There was no question of filial duty or filial love; one was either a Saracen or a Christian, and that was all there was to it. There is not any other moral standard for the characters.

Naturally, I am not going to suggest that we consider all the characters in *The Merchant of Venice* by the same standard of moral values that we find in *The Sultan of Babylon*. Brilliant scholars have held, and will continue to hold, conflicting opinions as to Shakspeare's attitude toward Shylock, Bassanio, Portia, and the other chief characters. But I wonder if too much has not been made of Jessica. If one looks at the Furness Variorum edition of *The Merchant of Venice*,⁶ he will see that the attitude toward Jessica is almost universally unfavorable.⁷ She had no business to steal her father's money and waste it in riotous living, and then join with his enemies. Giles even says: "Well, as to her turning Christian, I view the matter as honest Gobbo did; it merely increased the number of pork-eaters."⁸

People are fond of contrasting Jessica with Marlowe's Abigail. Abigail was loyal to her father until Barabas showed that he cared nothing for her feelings; he loved only himself, and he hated all Christians. Even when she betrayed his crime at the last, she did it in the Confessional, reminding her confessor at the time that the secrets of the Confessional are sacred.

But is Jessica as important a character as Abigail? Why did Shakspeare introduce her? How did the Elizabethans regard her action in eloping with a Christian and stealing her father's money? She obviously has no very important part in the play. Shylock suffers many indignities at the hands of the Christians, and is it not merely the crowning one to steal his daughter and his ducats? Besides, this play

is a comedy, and in my opinion no Elizabethan was going to worry about Jessica's filial duty. Like Floripas and Ferumbras and dozens of other medieval heathens she turned Christian, and that was obviously, and conventionally, the best possible thing she could do.

Indeed, if one looks at the play from the medieval point of view, Shylock himself benefitted greatly from the whole affair. After all, he was not executed, as he so richly deserved to be, but baptized; his soul was saved whether he would or no. And Jessica had nothing in particular against her father; she was in love with Lorenzo and she turned Christian for him. She could no more live with her father after that than could Floripas, Nicolette, or dozens of other medieval heroines. As J. E. Wells says of Floripas:

The naive acceptance of the treason of Floripas to her father and her faith, and her murder of her governess and the jailer, all for the sake of the Christians, is representative of the attitude of medieval romances toward Saracen maidens. No impropriety was perceived in such demonstrations of conversion to Christianity.⁹

The objection may well be raised that Shakspeare was not writing a medieval romance with Christians arrayed against Saracens. That is true enough, but neither is Jessica the crude heroine that Floripas is. She is a beautiful girl in love with one of Bassanio's friends. Moreover, although *The Merchant of Venice* is not a romance, it has in common with the romance the axiom that it is better to be Christian than non-Christian. Once such an axiom is recognized, Jessica is no problem at all.

University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

¹"Medieval Prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica," *MLN*, XLIV (1929), 227-32

²*Ibid*, p 228

³Ed by E Hausknecht, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, XXXVIII (1891).

⁴*Loc cit* pp 45-46

⁵*Ibid*, p 58.

⁶Philadelphia, 1895

⁷pp 443-44.

⁸*Ibid*

⁹*Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, New Haven Yale Press, 1928, p 8.



SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1947)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. & DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N Y Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which I thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in *italics*. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1947 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed.

A	—Anglia (Halle)	CM	—Cornhill Magazine (London)
Amer.	—American	comp	—compiler
Archiv	—Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprachen (Braunschweig)	CR	—Contemporary Review
Ba	—Baconiana	CS	—Cahier du Sud (Paris)
B	—Bulletin	CUP	—Cambridge University Press
bib	—bibliography	CW	—Catholic World
b s	—broadside	Diss	—Dissertation
Cambr	—Cambridge	ed.	—editor
Col UP	—Columbia Univ. Press (N. Y.)	edn	—edition
		EdR	—Edinburgh Review
		EJ	—English Journal

The editor wishes to acknowledge the cooperation of Mr. William B. White in the editing of the 1947 Bibliography.

ELH	—Journal of English Literary History (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md)	P	—Press
Eliz'n	—Elizabethan	pl	—plate
ER	—English Review (London)	PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America (Baltimore, Md)
facs	—facsimile	ports	—portraits
FR	—Fortnightly Review	P P	—privately printed
GR	—Germanic Review (N. Y.)	PQ	—Philological Quarterly (Iowa City, Ia.)
GRM	—Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift (Heidelberg)	Proc	—Proceedings
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly	Q	—Quarterly
HUP	—Harvard University Press (Cambridge, Mass)	QQ	—Queen's Quarterly (Kingston, Ont)
ils, illusts	—illustrations	R	—Review, Revue
J	—Journal	RAA	—Revue Anglo-Américaine (Paris)
Jb	—Jahrbuch	Repr	—Reprinted
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology (Urbana, Ill)	RES	—Review of English Studies (London)
Lit Dig	—Literary Digest (N Y)	S	—Shakespeare, Shakspeare
Ln	—London	SAB	—Shakespeare Association Bulletin, N Y
M	—Magazine	SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch (Leipzig)
MLN	—Modern Language Notes (Baltimore, Md)	Sn	—Shakespearean, Shaksperian
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly	SP	—Studies in Philology (Chapel Hill, N. C)
MLR	—Modern Language Review (Cambridge, Mass)	TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly (N. Y.)
Mo	—Monthly	TBR	—Times Book Review (N. Y)
MP	—Modern Philology	TLS	—Times Literary Supplement (London)
MSR	—Malone Society Reprints (London)	TR	—Transactions
MS	Manuscript	tr.	—translator
NQ	—Notes and Queries (London)	U	—University
NY	—New York, N Y	UP	—University Press
OUP	—Oxford University Press, American Branch, N Y City	Zeit	—Zeitschrift fur

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7. The influence of F B on modern thought—C Trew—Ba, 31 209-13, Oct
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9. F. B's monument—D G Moore—NQ, 192 345, Aug 9
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13. F. B's lost Atlantis—J. Arther—Ba, 31 129-34, July
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More Ado About *Much Ado*
Three Interpretations of *Romeo and Juliet*
The Roaring Boy Again (Part II)
Bibliography of Works by Samuel A. Tannenbaum

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ILLUSTRATION OF *MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING* FROM NICHOLAS ROWE'S EDITION
OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS (1709)



MORE ADO ABOUT *MUCH ADO*

BY SIDNEY L. GULICK, JR.

NO ONE need furnish reasons for liking one play or for not wishing to stage another. But to publish reasons is to risk an answer. Mr. E. J. West, in "Much Ado About an Unpleasant Play,"¹ finds that Shakespeare wrote a comedy of which he was later ashamed, one that Mr. West has been unable to bring himself to produce. What are his reasons?

To show that Shakespeare may have repented having written *Much Ado About Nothing*, Mr. West quotes nine lines from four sonnets, applying "the second burthen," "some worthless songs," "a motley to the view," and "public manners" to this hypothetical regret.² In the Variorum edition of the *Sonnets*, Mr. Hyder Rollins shows abundantly the dangers of interpreting selected passages from the key which may have unlocked Shakespeare's heart. These dangers Mr. West seems not to have avoided; lines applied out of context and with a free hand may provide a happy illustration but never proof of a point otherwise doubtful. There are, as Mr. Rollins suggests, so many possible interpretations to choose among! But we are concerned less with Shakespeare's supposed dislike of this play than with Mr. West's reasons for rejecting it himself.

The gist of his arraignment of *Much Ado* he states in two words: "brutality" and "bawdiness." Admitting that he lays himself open to the charge of prudery, he finds that the main plot, a melodrama involving Hero and Claudio and reaching its climax in the cathedral scene (which cannot be cut off without dismembering the play), hinges on "brutality" and "indelicacy;"³ it "reeks to heaven of unsavoriness."⁴ And growing out of this plot, "typical, essential, characteristics" of it, is the "pure bawdiness of conversation of all characters."⁵ Although the worst obscenities may be excised for pub-

lic presentation, the whole tone is smutty. In consequence, he cannot bring himself to stage the play.

Rather than prudery, Mr. West appears guilty of inconsistency in both of his indictments. As to physical brutality, even in the so-called great comedies—with which he objects to having *Much Ado* classed—one finds plenty of it, as in the wrestling scene in *As You Like It* [I, 11]. Here Charles, having left three brothers with their ribs broken and life despaired of, comes on the stage, prepared to follow Oliver's instructions to do his worst against Orlando; but instead Orlando throws Charles and leaves him speechless, presumably with *his* ribs splintered. In *Twelfth Night* [II, v, 51], Sir Toby exclaims, "O, for a stonebow, to hit him in the eye!"—brutal enough in concept, but lacking the finesse of Malvolio's subsequent confinement as a madman. The bickering of Helena and Hermia, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, lacks something of decorum; taken out of comedy context, Lysander's wooing of Helena, when she thinks he mocks her, seems cruel enough to her [III, 11]. That all these plays have a happy ending merely accentuates the dream-world of comedy, in which Hero's and Claudio's love likewise comes to its dream-world conclusion of happiness.

If not brutality in the plot, although he makes somewhat of that, perhaps Mr. West objects to the subject of the plot—slander, that is, for at the end all recognize that no taint has touched Hero. Unlovely as the subject is, how much less a character is stained in a plot based on slander than in one, say, based on the reform of a prostitute, as in Dekker's *Honest Whore* or in Eugene O'Neill's "*Anna Christie*," or, to cite Shakespeare, on seduction, as in *All's Well*, or on the reform of a scold, with its violence of temper, as in *The Taming of a Shrew*, or on attempted adulterous seduction, as in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, or on greed and hate, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, or on jealousy and fraternal cruelty, as in *As You Like It*! Of necessity, tragedy deals in unpleasant matter; where comedy involves a clash in aims—that is, by definition wherever there is plot—some vice or unsavory characteristic almost necessarily enters. The treatment makes or mars the subject—as delightfully illustrated, in modern times, in *Arsenic and Old Lace*, where murder loses its horror and becomes farce. Shakespeare's plays are no exception; we recognize the comedy dream-world, accept its conventions, and enjoy what he intended us to enjoy.

Mr. West seems still further inconsistent in rejecting *Much Ado* on grounds of "pure bawdiness." There is an essential difference between such a play as the Fontanne-Lunt production of *Amphitruon* or the typical Restoration comedy and even the unexpurgated text of *Much Ado*. To compare the latter with other plays by Shakespeare makes one wonder why Mr. West should have singled it out for his censure: Mercutio and Romeo, for instance, exchange *double-entendres* vying in wit and and indelicacy [II, iv]. To commend and prefer *Love's Labor's Lost*,⁷ he must ignore such passages as that in which Boyet makes the typical Elizabethan play on horns and cuckoldry, then proceeds to a pun which makes Maria answer, "you talk greasily," i.e., indecently [IV, i, 139]. In kind, no speech in *Much Ado* is worse, nor is Margaret involved in any such scrape as Jaquenetta, whose seduction and pregnancy Costard announces in the final scene [V, ii, 678ff.]. As to drawing-room propriety, Lady Macbeth, in renouncing and denying her womanhood, speaks words of high dramatic pitch but unfamiliar in polite society [I, v and vii]. Hamlet speaks broadly in talk both to Ophelia and to his mother. And Ophelia's bawdy song does not degrade her, but rather adds pathos to the mad scene. All these are woven into the texture of the plays; no one need be offended by them, for the characters transcend such passages. The question thus really becomes: Do the characters in *Much Ado* rise above the language which Mr. West objects to? My answer is, Yes.

He has missed, as I see it, the essential qualities of both Beatrice and Benedick. Whether or not one cut a few of such lines as seem unfit for immature audiences of whatever age, surely there shines out in both characters a generosity admirable wherever found. Compare them, for example, with the suave but selfish Millamant and Mirabell in Congreve's *Way of the World*, whose drawing-room love affair deceives no audience. The motivation which is the main-spring of tragedy has little place in comedy, where character comes ready-made at the first rising of the curtain. In *Much Ado* one finds as much of the character revelation as in any of the great comedies—and it occurs with Beatrice, who is the soul of loyalty, and with Benedick, who is the mirror of honor. Claudio, valiant but changeable, has first doubted the prince, as wooing for himself [II, i, 183ff.], and then easily accepts Don John's calumny of Hero [III, ii]. But listen to Beatrice: "On my soul, my cousin is belied!" [IV, i, 148]

—this, when even Hero's father has deserted her. And Benedick comes to her support: "Surely, I do believe your fair cousin is wronged." [IV, i, 261]. In this scene, when the business becomes serious, both put aside their byplay; they know where the prosperity of a jest lies. And both are snared into declaring love for each other, by the prince and his accomplices, through their very nobility—each thinking to preserve the other from death. In this, Beatrice and Benedick stand out as having greater moral worth, for they act through more admirable motives, than Berowne or Viola or Rosalind. No, the words of badinage do not taint their characters.

To sum up: Feeling that Shakespeare repented of having written *Much Ado*, Mr. West cannot bring himself to stage it, on the ground that both in plot and in speech there is a repulsive, a brutal bawdiness. On the contrary, it seems to me that the main plot reveals a character singularly pure, since no action involves unchastity or degradation of the heroine; that the characters in the subplot are motivated by the highest ideals, so high that they are led into their great predicament by their essential goodness, and that their speech shows the freedom of wit, not of moral decay.

San Diego State College

¹*SAB*, XXII (1947), 30-34

²*Ibid*, p 30 (Sonnets LXIX, C, CX, CXI)

³*Ibid*, p 31 (Quoting, he notes, Robert Bridges, *Collected Essays, Papers, Etc* (London, 1927), p 2)

⁴*Ibid*, p 34

⁵*Ibid*, p 32

⁶*Ibid*., p 30.

⁷*Ibid*, p 32

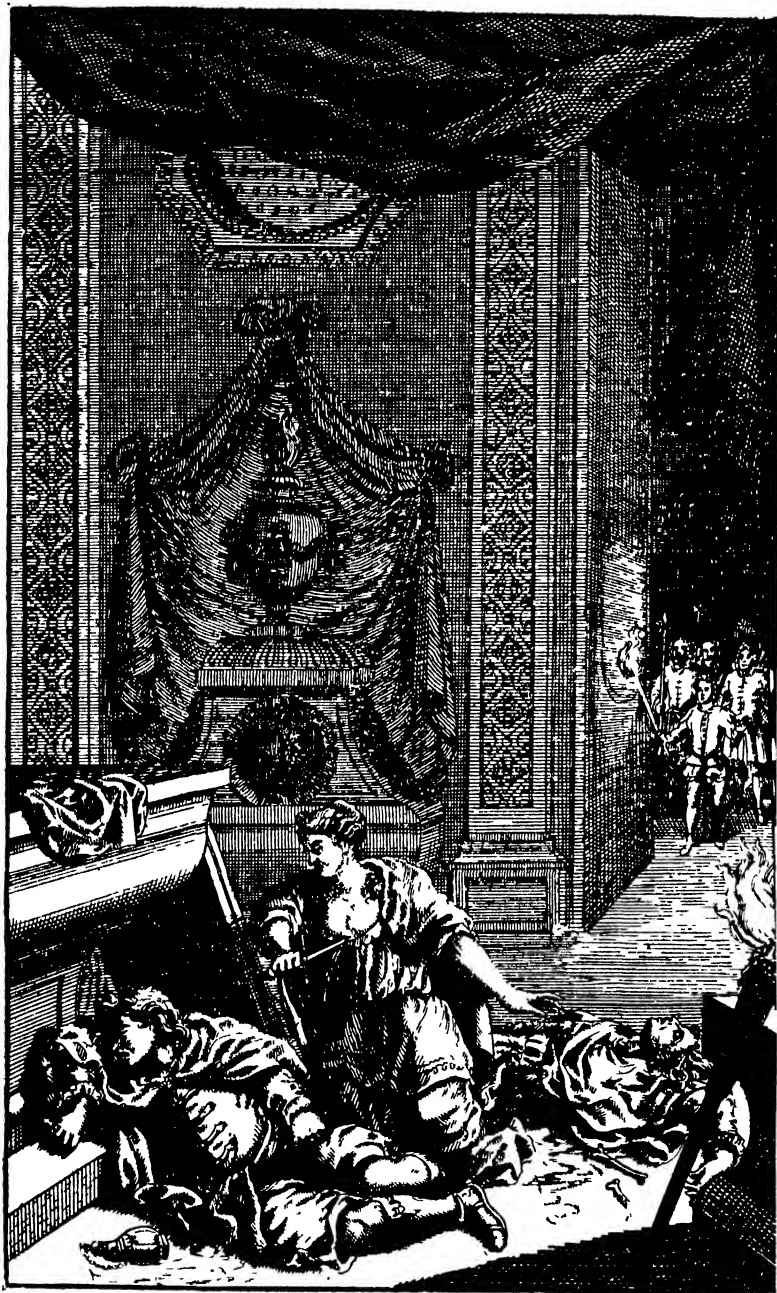


ILLUSTRATION OF *ROMEO AND JULIET* FROM NICHOLAS ROWE'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS (1709)



THREE INTERPRETATIONS OF *ROMEO AND JULIET*

BY ROBERT METCALF SMITH

OF ALL the plays of Shakespeare, it would seem that *Romeo and Juliet*, the perfect love poem of the English race and of the world, should be least open to controversy and to differences of interpretation. We can readily understand why critics are still striving to pluck the heart out of Hamlet's mystery, and why every one, in spite of the critics, has his own interpretation of Hamlet. Since all the world loves a lover, all the world it would seem should understand at once the romantic devotion of Romeo and Juliet and the misfortunes of their hapless love. What more by way of interpretation is needed, and why should we mangle a beautiful story with controversies and learned discussions?

If we wish, however, to discover how this play is related to Shakespeare's conceptions of tragedy, and what kind of tragedy Shakespeare intended *Romeo and Juliet* to be, we begin to discover among critics of the play very wide differences of opinion. Three conflicting interpretations of *Romeo and Juliet* prevail among Shakespearean critics: that Shakespeare intended to write (1) a tragedy of Social Justice, (2) a tragedy of Character or Poetic Justice, (3) a Tragedy of Fate, or better, in Elizabethan parlance, of *Fortune*.¹

I

TRAGEDY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

The interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet* as a tragedy of social justice may be found most fully elaborated by Stopford Brooke,² who lays great stress upon the quarrel between the houses of Capulet and Montague. Some readers may instantly retort that Brooke has confused the framework of the play with the play itself; but Brooke's

argument is worthy of further examination. According to his interpretation the play is not a tragedy of the lovers, Romeo and Juliet, but a social tragedy portraying the fatal consequences of hate between the Capulets and Montagues. The lovers are only a part of the play; they are the sacrificial penalties the two Houses pay for their sins of hate. Shakespeare's main purpose, therefore, was to show the frightful toll hatred takes upon families that cherish it, and the disturbance to good government and the general peace that blood feuds cause. As the Prologue tells us at once, we are to witness:

"Two *households*, both alike in dignity
In fair Verona, where we lay our scene,
From *ancient grudge* break to new mutiny
Where civil blood makes civil hands unclean "

We are also to learn that only the

"misadventur'd piteous overthrows [of the lovers]
Do with their death bury their parents' strife."

The disturbance to the state caused by this strife is sternly denounced by the Prince in the very opening scene:

"Rebellious subjects, enemies to peace,
Profaners of this neighbour-stained steel,
Will they not hear? What, ho' you men, you beasts,
That quench the fire of your pernicious rage
With purple fountains issuing from your veins."
(I, 1, 88 ff.)

and the Prince threatens a penalty of death upon the participants in any future brawl; for the quarrel of the Capulets and Montagues was of long standing and had outraged the public peace three times; moreover, it had become so deeply engrained in every member of each family that even the servants went about aping the braggadocio and truculence of young blades like Tybalt and Mercutio until the greatest tragedy of youthful love suddenly arises out of an insulting gesture made by a Capulet servant to a Montague servant in the public square.

The hope of stopping this disgraceful feud led Friar Laurence

to encourage and finally to marry the lovers. To their pleas he says:

"In one respect I'll thy assistant be;
For this alliance may so happy prove
To turn your households' rancour to pure love."
(II, 3, 90-3)

Some critics have even gone so far as to inveigh against the good Friar as a meddlesome old priest full of tedious moral platitudes and perilous stratagems. As a representative of Holy Church, however, he cherished two moral purposes: (1) to see to it that Romeo and Juliet were married before they were left alone together, (2) to bring peace to the city by effecting a reconciliation of Capulets and Montagues after the marriage. His purposes, therefore, were not only beyond reproach; they were obligatory to his office—whatever may be said of his methods. They meet, it is true, to quote Stopford Brooke, "the fate that the interference of churchmen in affairs most often meets." But no sooner has Friar Laurence secretly married the lovers than the sacrifices to this blood feud come thick and fast, "as if," says Stopford Brooke, "Justice herself were in a hurry to accomplish her ends, as if she were driving with hastening lash all the characters on to the catastrophe."

First dies Mercutio, calling down "a plague o' both your houses." Romeo, lashed into fury, then slays Tybalt. Owing to this, Romeo is banished and Juliet is left alone. Owing to this, Capulet forces Count Paris on Juliet. Owing to this, Juliet takes the sleeping potion, is thought by Romeo to have died, and Romeo resolves on death.

Everything then, according to this view, comes out of the hatred of the Capulets and Montagues; and the deaths of Romeo and Juliet, says Brooke, are the work of "a Power whose aim is to punish the feud by the sacrifice of the lovers. They bear the sins of others and carry them away." This retribution the Prince drives home as the bereaved fathers mourn over the bodies of their children:

"See, what a scourge is laid upon your hate,
That Heaven finds means to kill your joys and love!
And I, for winking at your discords too,
Have lost a brace of kinsmen: *all are punish'd.*"
(V, 3, 292-5)

Upon this pronouncement follows the reconciliation of the houses. Montague promises to raise Juliet's statue in pure gold; and Capulet promises as rich a one for Romeo. As to the justice of such a sacrifice, Brooke remarks paradoxically: "Shakespeare accepted this apparent injustice as the work of Justice."—rather cold comfort for the lovers, but he adds, "Justice had already mercifully granted the lovers their perfect hour. Death is not much, when life has once reached the top of joy." According to this interpretation, then, Shakespeare wrote *Romeo and Juliet* as a tragedy of social justice in which the innocent are slain by the hatred of the Houses; society is revenged and purged so that peace may triumph and endure.

II

TRAGEDY OF CHARACTER OR POETIC JUSTICE

A

The second interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet* regards the play as a tragedy of character. Critics of this persuasion assert that the lovers are not sacrificed for the expiation of social guilt, but are paying for their own tragic deficiencies.

Shakespeare was not writing a sermon on blood feuds but presenting a graphic illustration of the disaster which comes inevitably out of certain character defects in the lovers themselves. Just as Brutus illustrates the tragedy of blind idealism; Richard III and Macbeth, the tragedy of vaulting ambition; Hamlet, the fault of native resolution becoming "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," so Romeo and Juliet pay for the consequences of their rash and impetuous natures; hence Shakespeare wrote the play to exhibit not the revenge of society but the tragic folly of youth. The lovers are not innocent sufferers, or sacrifices, but heedless and reckless youth; like other tragic heroes they too have, as Hamlet phrases it, "some vicious mole of nature in them, and in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault." The following passage written by Professor Henneman,⁴ a typical advocate of this view, will serve to reveal the faults he finds in these rash lovers—especially in Romeo.

"Character is destiny. Romeo is precipitate, he goes to the Capulet ball uninvited, he jumps over the garden wall to speak with the girl

he has just met, he marries Juliet off-hand, he comes between Tybalt and Mercutio, he slays the bloody Tybalt and later slays himself at the tomb of his lover—it is all of a piece. The tragedy comes from the qualities of Romeo's character and not from an unfavorable star or frowning Providence "

This last sentence you will note is sadly at odds with Stopford Brooke's interpretation. According to him the ends of justice are being achieved by shedding the blood of the innocent; according to the second, the lovers are suffering only the poetic justice they bring upon themselves.

If we wish to elaborate further upon the faults of the lovers, we might find a few more in Romeo that Professor Henneman neglected to mention. Romeo is so consumed by the passion of love that he never even thinks of marriage until Juliet proposes it; he then has no plans for carrying it out, or thought for the future. He leaves all the planning to Juliet and the Friar, as well as the carrying out of the plans. It is Juliet who arranges for the second meeting of the lovers at Friar Laurence's cell, and for access to her balcony room after the wedding; it is the Friar who proposes the death-like potion to prevent Juliet's marriage to Paris, and to reunite the lovers. While all this is going on Romeo acts like a child; he bewails and weeps his fate before it comes; he throws himself petulantly on the ground and raises such an unmanly commotion in the Friar's cell that even the Nurse is disgusted and the Friar sharply reproves him to bring him to his senses. (It is not realized apparently by critics of this school that Romeo, like Hamlet, is a typical Elizabethan distracted lover) In fact, the only thing that Romeo characteristically does suggest is a rope ladder by which he can climb up to Juliet's balcony.

If we wish to find flaws in Juliet we can do no better than to con the pages of L. M. Watt,⁴ who maintains that both lovers are victims "of their human passions and pride of the human will," and Juliet of sensuality:

"Beautiful as love may be, and sweet as the affections of Romeo and Juliet are, they yet allow passion to overbalance them. Excess is their sin, which displaces the centre of gravity of their universe, and topples them to disaster. The constant association with the aged Nurse and her gross nature, through the proud neglect of Lady

Capulet, her mother, has given an undeniably sensual bias to the love of Juliet, which, finding its counterpart in the hot nature of Romeo, draws them both blindly to gratification of appetite. Their speedy marriage without consultation, which, indeed, considering the relations of their families, would have been fruitless of aught but recrimination and outrage, plunges them straight into the vortex of destiny. The same passionate haste has made the world of Verona too narrow for the hate of the heads of the houses, and stains the streets with the blood of Mercutio; while the unbalanced, unrestrainable spirit of Romeo which carries him headlong into his matrimonial complications, heads him to the further disastrous deaths not only of Tybalt and Count Paris but also of himself."

Contemplate the mind of the critic that reduces *Romeo and Juliet* to a "matrimonial complication"! but let us proceed to reveal another fault Watt has overlooked: Juliet's deceitful nature, her capacity for lying to Paris and to her Mother and Father and doubtless we might find other "faults" if we wished to abandon our minds further to this ungracious kind of detraction.

B

The most recent attempt to discover a tragic flaw in Romeo is the learned discourse in a recent issue of the *Bulletin* (October, 1947) by H. Edward Cain who offers extensive testimony from More, La Primudays and other authorities describing the passion of anger, wrath, ire, choler, rage, fury, to prove that the character of Romeo is a study of the passions of anger. Romeo's giving way to "wild-eyed fury" is the inherent character flaw. Tragic fault, as Bradley also believes, is present.

In the first place, it may be said that Professor Draper's essay, *Shakespeare's "Star-Crossed Lovers."*⁵ equally recondite in medieval and renaissance lore, presents an astonishing array of pseudo-science, astrology, and humour, to show why the play has "something of the inevitable sequence of Hellenic tragedy." As Cain himself concedes, the majority of critics regard the tragedy as one of fortune, and the lovers without blemish or blame.⁶

In the second place, it may be queried whether Romeo's anger can be regarded at all in the strict Aristotelian sense of tragic flaw. Aristotle's word, according to the best authorities, Bywater, Ross,

Atkins, refers only to tragic defects issuing not from passion or will, but from imperfect knowledge. Under the influence, however, of medieval conceptions of moral conscience tragic flaw long before Shakespeare had been extended to include faults of passion and will accompanied often by retribution or conviction or admission of sin, a conception indubitably prominent in Shakespeare's thought, born and brought up as he was on medieval Christian doctrines.

In the third place, it may be doubted whether Romeo's giving way to impetuosity and wrath can at all be considered a tragic fault. One can hardly hold a young renaissance lover to blame for the impetuosity of youth when love and honor are at stake, or expect him to exhibit the cool prudence of Friar Laurence's "wisely and slow, they stumble that run fast." The only fault in the impetuosity, the love and anger of Romeo, then, as well as in that of Juliet, is Youth, a condition that can hardly be equated to tragic flaw at all, whether in a classical, a medieval, a renaissance, or a modern sense. Moreover, as will be shown later, Friar Laurence's philosophy of prudence, highly recommended by Cain, suffers no better fate. *Romeo and Juliet* is not a tragedy that can be averted by reason and temperance. The fact that Shakespeare deliberately changed the heavily moralistic *Romeus and Juliet* of Arthur Brooke, his source, (upon which Cain draws at length)—particularly in removing all censure of the lovers, weighs heavily against Cain's thesis of moral fault in Romeo. For Professor Cain's purpose a better illustration of incarnate anger unrestrained would be Tybalt or of choleric anger, Old Capulet, who stand in pertinent contrast to Romeo's repeated endeavors to stay on-rushing calamity by controlling his ire in hopes first to avert the fight, and subsequently to avoid his duty to revenge the death of Mercutio. Under these extreme provocations, Romeo's efforts at control are little short of heroic; yet Cain gives them neither credit nor consideration. What, we may ask, would an Elizabethan audience have thought, or a modern audience for that matter, of a Romeo who, confronted by the slayer of his dearest friend, continued a prudent exhibition of a young man "too proud to fight?" Drama is not made that way. The same rejoinder may be made to Thomas P. Harrison, Jr.'s "Hang Up Philosophy"—and his effort to hang the play upon the Friar's philosophy of plants and Romeo's indulgence in "rude will." Heaven's "grace," exemplified earlier by the Friar, does not appear at all to aid the much distraught good man who is quite beside himself in Act V. His wisdom receives no

better shrift than Romeo's "fury." "God," one critic has remarked, "is a *name*, but not an *influence* in Shakespeare's plays." Religion never helps any one of his characters. Læertes, contemplating mad Ophelia, exclaims: "Do you see this, O God?" and Macduff, hearing the calamity that has overcome his wife and babes, "Did Heaven look on and would not take their part?" Friar Laurence utters not a word of Christian comfort to Juliet in the tomb.

C

In view of these detractions that have been made by critics seeking according to questionable Aristotelian formulæ to find faults in the lovers in order to uphold a theory of tragic retribution, it is very much to the purpose to emphasize the tests of character which both lovers heroically met. There is little question that Juliet is the finer character of the two, but we should observe that in spite of his peevishness, his emotional excess, and his lack of forethought, Romeo is quite worthy of the devotion of his beloved. Whenever there comes a test, Romeo meets it like the heroic lover we would have him be. Note, for example, what restraint and self-control he shows in trying to stop the duel between Tybalt and Mercutio. How easy it would have been to jump into the fight at once in response to the taunts and insults of Tybalt. It is only when his friend Mercutio has been slain that he is compelled to exact his superior swordsmanship upon Tybalt who "fights by the book of arithmetic." There is no lack of manliness here, nor at any other point in the play when a crisis has to be met, whether it be his second forced duel with Paris in the tomb or his determination to live no longer when he hears the false news of Juliet's death.

If Romeo's essential manliness is equal to the crises of his life, Juliet throughout exhibits a strength of character that may be matched with that of any other Shakespearean heroine. Ophelia and Desdemona can but suffer in dumb helplessness from forces beating upon them which they never understand and with which they cannot cope. The nerves of both Portia, Brutus' wife, and of Lady Macbeth are shattered by suspense and dread in spite of their heroic wills; Cordelia has her husband and Kent to aid her in her counterplots. In contrast stands the heroism of Juliet, the presence of mind that she retains in every crisis in spite of the emotional turmoil to which she is subjected. It may be ventured that no woman in Shakespeare

suffers such prolonged and unrelieved emotional stress; and we should remember that it is not mental activity but emotional turmoil that leaves men and women torn and exhausted. Shocked from simple and innocent girlhood by the sudden love for Romeo, like women in every walk of life, she had to bear the severest burdens. The tragic fatality of finding herself suddenly in love with an enemy, the anxieties of planning for the marriage are mere preliminaries to her sufferings. In Act III, Scene II, when she is on the very heights of ecstasy anticipating her lover, in comes the Nurse with news that Romeo has slain Tybalt, and we watch Juliet torn between her feelings of loyalty to her kinsman and her love for Romeo. Upon this follows the last meeting at night and the painful parting at daybreak when she inquires of Romeo:

"O, think'st thou we shall ever meet again?"

but in spite of Romeo's assurances, she was never again to see him alive. After he has gone, how characteristically she cries out on Fortune:

"O fortune, fortune! all men call thee fickle:
If thou art fickle, what dost thou with him
That is renown'd for faith? Be fickle, fortune,
For then, I hope, thou wilt not keep him long,
But send him back."

From this point on, however, she is allowed not a moment's relief from emotional tension for immediately Lady Capulet enters to announce that Juliet is to marry Paris—"early next Thursday morning,"—a date that subsequently is speedily advanced to Wednesday, a proposal which results in the violent scene with her parents and the disgraceful abuse they pour upon her. The Nurse to whom she finally appeals then abandons her cause, and urges her to compromise and marry Paris. She meets this test by cleverly seeming to consent, but keeping her ulterior purpose fast hidden within her own soul. Even then there is not a moment's relief, for in comes Paris to press again his unwelcome attentions, and Juliet has to continue playing the difficult role of seeming to receive his tenders of affection. She then appeals to the Friar, only to be confronted with his desperate plan of the sleeping potion; and in the midst of the commotion in the house in preparation for her hasty wedding, she finally perceives that her dismal scene she must enact alone; and she retires to struggle with her fears in this marvelous soliloquy:

"Farewell! God knows when we shall meet again.
I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins,
That almost freezes up the heat of life.
I'll call them back again to comfort me.
Nurse!—What should she do here?
My dismal scene I needs must act alone.
Come, vial.
What if this mixture do not work at all?
Shall I be married then to-morrow morning?
No, no. this shall forbid it. Lie thou there.

[Laying down a dagger.]

What if it be a poison, which the friar
Subtly hath minister'd to have me dead,
Lest in this marriage he should be dishonour'd,
Because he married me before to Romeo?
I fear it is and yet, methinks, it should not,
For he hath still been tried a holy man
How if, when I am laid into the tomb,
I wake before the time that Romeo
Come to redeem me? there's a fearful point.
Shall I not then be stifled in the vault,
To whose foul mouth no healthsome air breathes in,
And there die strangled ere my Romeo comes?
Or, if I live, is it not very like,
The horrible conceit of death and night,
Together with the terror of the place,
As in a vault, an ancient receptacle,
Where for these many hundred years the bones
Of all my buried ancestors are pack'd,
Where bloody Tybalt, yet but green in earth,
Lies festering in his shroud; where, as they say,
At some hours in the night spirits resort;
Alack, alack, is it not like that I
So early waking, what with loathsome smells
And shrieks like mandrakes' torn out of the earth,
That living mortals hearing them run mad:
O, if I wake, shall I not be distraught,
Environed with all these hideous fears?
And madly play with my forefathers' joints?
And pluck the mangled Tybalt from his shroud?
And, in this rage, with some great kinsman's bone,
As with a club, dash out my desperate brains?

O, look ' methinks I see my cousins's ghost
 Seeking out Romeo, that did spit his body
 Upon a rapier's point. stay, Tybalt, stay!
 Romeo, I come! this do I drink to thee." (IV, 3)

It is a wonder of wonders indeed, that under such incessant nervous tension, driven in upon herself and tossed hither and yon with doubts, she could have kept so steadfast to her purpose, and so heroically have enacted this dismal scene alone.

To those who censure the lovers for rash and passionate excess, it may be said that it is incredible how critical minds should be so blind to the character values in this play. John Erskine has given the final verdict on this point:

"For of all the immortal lovers of drama and story Romeo and Juliet are surely outstanding in the combined purity and passion of their motives. For great as are the loves of ancient story, of Helen, of Cleopatra, of Iseult, of Heloise, of Guinevere and of their lovers, they are obscured by meanness, by trickery, and by broken vows. We do not look to them for the ideals we would wish our modern youth to emulate."⁸

When we witness Romeo and Juliet caught in the toils of hate and chance, we wonder which of us would not be lovers to the death if our passions could attain such ardor and loveliness, such fidelity and strength as theirs. It is harsh indeed to censure Romeo and Juliet because they love with the wild ardor and idealism of youth. Rather do the devotion and beauty of these lovers shine forth as fixed stars against the dark background of a universe, as in *King Lear*, not ordered to satisfy the desires of men.

III

TRAGEDY OF FORTUNE

A

The third interpretation regards the play as a tragedy of Fortune; it does not exhibit the workings of an external social justice, nor disclose any censurable faults in the lovers. As Professor Kittredge pronounces in no uncertain terms: "Romeo and Juliet—is a

fatalistic drama.”⁷ While it is true that the lovers are sacrificed on the altar of family hatred, no spectator ever views the tragedy as anything but what the title indicates, namely, the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet. If Shakespeare had intended a tragedy of the Houses (like Lope de Vega, who wrote a play on the same story) he would have called his play *The Tragedy of the Capulets and Montagues*; on the contrary he tells in his prologue that we are to witness “a pair of Star-Crossed lovers”—doomed by blind fortune to disaster even before they begin their tempestuous love-making. If we are responsive to the motives of Fortune, which are repeatedly struck throughout this play as in the Fifth Symphony of Beethoven or in Tschaikowsky’s Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, we shall perceive that the disaster overwhelming Romeo and Juliet is caused at last not by the hate of the Houses or by defects of character, but by a series of unlucky accidents; and that the final determining accident, which brings the lovers to their doom,—the failure of Friar John to deliver to Romeo the letter telling him that Juliet was not dead,—is one for which no one is responsible:

“As in Greek tragedy,” remarks one critic, “we follow the story not with eager curiosity as to how it will terminate; we know from the first that the lovers are doomed. What we watch for is the means by which Fortune spreads her nets for their feet, the means by which they struggle to avoid them and the lovely flaming colors of passion which their alternating moments of joy and despair bring into their faces, their hearts, and their speech. When they seem nearest deliverance Shakespeare unresistingly makes the final stroke of fate one of merest chance, so completely unrelated to the principal action that the tragic plot seems actually to be forgotten or destroyed.”

This final catastrophe is due, then, not to weakness of character, not to the feud between Montague and Capulet, but to the accidental detention in quarantine of the letter-bearer Friar John, a hitherto unheard of person—“an ill-unlucky thing,” as Friar Laurence says, that only heightens our tragic impressions of the lovers as hopelessly at the mercy of Fortune’s whims.

Let us trace this hand of Fate or of Fortune, as the Elizabethans term it, and see how the lovers are destined to be the blameless victims not only of family hatred, but of obvious accident and chance.

In harmony with the prologue which tells us that Romeo and Juliet are to be revealed as "a pair of star-crossed lovers," we observe them repeatedly crying out against the accidents of Fortune; their ill-divining souls are constantly harrowed by fears like those Romeo expresses when against his will he goes with his friends to Capulet's ball:

Romeo. And we mean well, in going to this mask;
But 'tis no wit to go.

- - - - -

Ben Supper is done and we shall come too late.

Romeo. I fear, too early, for my mind misgives
Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars,
Shall bitterly begin his fearful date
With this night's revels, and expire the term
Of a despised life closed in my breast
By some vile forfeit of untimely death.

(I, 4, 105-11)

Note too the repeated references throughout to the stars, and the numerous occasions when the finger of Fortune thrusts awry the best laid plans of the lovers and of their good shepherd, Friar Laurence. It is by mere chance that, through the illiterate servant of the Capulets, the invitation falls into the hands of the Montagues, and we have just seen Romeo had no wish to go to the ball where he met Juliet. The fatality of this situation is emphasized by Juliet's exclamation:

"My only love sprung from my only hate,
Too early seen unknown, and known too late"

(I, 5, 140-1)

It was no fault of his that Romeo became involved in the death of Tybalt. Mercutio stirs up the fray. Romeo uses all his persuasion to pacify Tybalt, and when finally he can do nothing in honor but avenge Mercutio's death, how characteristically he exclaims:

"O, I am fortune's fool." (III, 1, 141)

Even Friar Laurence when he hears the news of Romeo's predicament thinks him fated:

"Romeo, come forth, come forth thou fearful man:
 Affliction is enamour'd of thy parts,
 And thou art wedded to calamity."
 (III, 3, 1-3)

To censure the lovers for their impetuous devotion is to censure youth because it is not middle age, for what churlish spirit would wish them to be less radiant in their mutual passion and adoration? Yet the prudence of the Friar meets no better end. For had not Fortune thwarted the Friar's plan, was there not as good a chance of reconciling the families in this way as by the needless sacrifice of the lovers? Believing as a holy man that the world is directed by providential wisdom, and that in this life "grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night," he did not reckon, in his precarious plan to reunite the lovers, upon the hazards and accidents that thwart life's fairest hopes. Like Romeo, when he came between Tybalt and Mercutio, Friar Laurence "thought all for the best." It was no fault of his that Friar John, who bore the news of Juliet's simulated death, was caught in a quarantined city, and failed to reach Romeo, or that Romeo on hearing the report of Juliet's death was left to hurl his challenge.

"Is it even so? then I defy you, stars!" (V, 1, 24)

It is fate again that Juliet awakens from her death-like sleep only a moment after Romeo's death. No wonder is it, then, that when Friar Laurence tries to persuade Juliet to come away from the body of her lover, he does not proffer the official comforts of his religion by talk of Providence and a future in heaven, arguments which he had previously used to silence the wailing Capulets:

"- - - Heaven and yourself
 Had part in this fair maid, now heaven hath all"
 (IV, 5, 66-7)

but, shaken to the bottom of his soul by the awful realization of the "ill-unlucky thing" he had been fearing as he "stumbled at graves" on his way to the tomb, he utters those fateful words which strike the keynote of this tragedy and of all such tragedies of fate or fortune:

"A greater power than we can contradict
 Hath thwarted our intents."
 (V, 3, 153-4)

Hardly any character in the play undergoes a greater transformation than Friar Laurence. Calm and fortified by his philosophy that good always comes out of evil, a doctrine he expounds at length in Act II, Scene 3:

"For nought so vile that on the earth doth live
But to the earth some special good doth give,"

he lived to say in Act V:

"- - - - Ah, what an unkind hour
Is guilty of this lamentable chance!"
(V, 3, 145 ff)

Firm believer in prudence and providential wisdom, this benevolent man becomes a trembling, fearful being, quite beside himself, rushing hither and yon, and away at the sound of noises, leaving Juliet alone, only to find himself apprehended by the suspicious watch:

3. Watch "Here is a friar, that trembles, sighs, and weeps "
1. Watch "A great suspicion Stay the friar too "
(V, 3, 184ff)

Shakespeare, however permits the Friar to deliver a long explanation and a justification of his conduct (V, 3, 229ff) by referring to "accident" as the cause of the disaster—and ending:

"- - - - if aught in this
Miscarried by my fault, let my old life
Be sacrific'd, some hour before his time,
Unto the rigour of severest law " (V, 3, 266ff)

Shakespeare, who condemns no one, has the Prince absolve the Friar in the brief sentence:

"We still have known thee for a holy man "
(V, 3, 270)

Verily there were more things in heaven and earth than were anticipated in Friar Laurence's philosophy. Fatalistic tragedy though it be interpreted, *Romeo and Juliet*, unlike the modern fatalistic

tragedy of O'Neill or of Andrieff in his *Life of Man* does not leave us depressed or crushed with hopeless sorrow at the close, or paralyzed by a fear of doom; on the contrary, we leave the theatre compensated not because the reconciled families are to raise gold statues to the glorious lovers, but because we are filled with admiration for their devotion and fidelity. We perceive that love has triumphed even in the face of crass casualty and death. When Romeo over the death-like form of Juliet breathes forth his last defiance of the stars, we hear no note of defeat, but the voice of something that Death and Fortune cannot touch.

" - - - - O give me thy hand,—
One writ with me in sour misfortune's book"

- - - - -
"Ah, dear Juliet,
Why art thou yet so fair? shall I believe
That unsubstantial death is amorous,
And that the lean abhorred monster keeps
Thee here in dark to be his paramour?
For fear of that, I still will stay with thee,
And never from this palace of dim night
Depart again: here, here will I remain
With worms that are thy chamber-maids, O, here
Will I set up my everlasting rest,
And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars
From this world-wearied flesh: Eyes, look your last!
Arms, take your last embrace! and lips, O you
The doors of breath, seal with a righteous kiss
A dateless bargain to engrossing death!
Come, bitter conduct, come, unsavoury guide!
Thou desperate pilot, now at once run on
The dashing rocks thy sea-sick weary bark
Here's to my love! [*Drinks*] O true apothecary!
Thy drugs are quick. Thus with a kiss I die [*Dies*."

Romeo and Juliet, like all other Shakespeare heroes, meet disaster with a bravery and eloquence that make their deaths insignificant.

B

This reduction of *Romeo and Juliet* to a tragedy of Fortune, however persuasive, suffers like the other two interpretations, from arbitrary selection, from over-simplification and from modern bias.

No matter how prevalent may be the references to Fortune, they should not be interpreted in the modern fatalistic formula of Eugene O'Neill or Joseph Wood Krutch.⁹ As Professor Patch has explained in his illuminating articles previously referred to, Fortune and Providence as employed in the renaissance—in fact ever since Boethius—meant virtually the same thing; since the accidents and chances of Fortune were regarded as under the control and a part of the permissive will of an all-wise Providence. Fortune and Providence were not so sharply differentiated as they are today, nor is it likely that they were in Shakespeare's mind. In the very speech when Romeo is disclaiming against Fortune and the stars

"for my mind misgives
Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars "

he immediately adds:

"But He, that hath the steerage of my course,
Direct my sail!" (I, 4, 112-3)

showing that in Romeo's mind the stars in their courses as well as all human fate were directed by Providence

Moreover, it is dubious also to insinuate that the Friar's philosophy collapses in Act V when he exclaims:

"A greater power than we can contradict
Hath thwarted our intents "

Though the Friar's wisdom receives no better shrift than Romeo's fury, for the best-laid plans of even holy men go oft' awry, there is no evidence that his settled religious view of the world is changed at all; for he begs Juliet to come forth and join "a sisterhood of holy nuns;" and in his defense he says:

"- - - - I entreated her come forth,
And bear this work of heaven with patience
But then a noise did scare me from the tomb,
And she too desperate would not go with me."

(V, 3, 260-4)

IV

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? To return to the more difficult question first propounded: What was Shakespeare's intent in writing *Romeo and Juliet*? Who can believe that Shakespeare composed this play to set forth any one of these doctrines, whether of family hate, of personal fault, or of Love versus Fortune? These captions, Tragedy of Social, or Poetical Justice, or Fortune, are the conscientious generalizations of moralists, of philosophers or of scholar theorists enabling us to elucidate the tragic values they have seen and felt while watching or studying the play, and who shall deny any one of them to expound as he pleases. Do we not have in *Romeo and Juliet* what may be called a nicely balanced play of all these forces? That is what we mean when we talk about the universality of art, in which, according to our little lights, our tastes, and our moral prepossessions, some of us see and stress one aspect, and others of us emphasize another. The myriad-minded Shakespeare takes no partial views; he reveals the whole.

Finally, what Shakespeare was most intent upon as a dramatist, we may be sure, was to write a captivating love story for his audience in the theatre and not to expound a philosophy or to illustrate a theory of tragedy or to moralize upon the time, content merely to please, "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure."

Lehigh University

¹H R Patch, *Smith College Studies in Modern Language*, III, nos 3, 4, IV, no 4, 1922-3, also *The Tradition of Boethius*, N Y, 1935

²S A Brooke, *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*, London, 1920, pp 35ff

³J B Henneman, *Shakespearean and Other Papers*, University Press of Tennessee, 1911, p 38

⁴L M Watt, *Attic and Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1908, pp 250-1

⁵J W Draper, *Shakespeare's "Star Crossed Lovers,"* Review of English Studies, xv, no 57, January, 1939

⁶Boas, Draper, Nicoll, Neilson, Parrott, et al

⁷G L Kittredge, *Romeo and Juliet*, Ginn, 1940, Int xii Nor should anyone miss Professor Kittredge's admirable spoofing essay *New Light on Romeo and Juliet*, The Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 1942, a devastating attack upon the Winstanley-Harrison School of "topical significances,"—critics who maintain that Shakespeare's plays are veiled allegories on contemporary personages and political events, Juliet in Kittredge's take-off being Lady Francis Howard, Romeo, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, Count Paris, the Earl of Essex, and the Prince, King James

⁸Matthews and Thorndike, *Shakespearean Studies*, Columbia University Press, N Y, 1916, p 234

⁹Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Modern Temper*, N Y, 1929



THE ROARING BOY AGAIN

BY WILLIAM PEERY

(Part II)

IF WE exclude from consideration Milligan's citations concerning rioters in general and confine our attention to those which concern roaring boys proper, we must conclude that Milligan has failed to show roaring boys as "numerous much earlier and much later" than the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The bulk of his evidence clearly shows, on the contrary, that the *O. E. D.* definition is substantially correct as to date; and Milligan's first alleged misconception is seen to be no misconception at all.

Of Milligan's citations within the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, furthermore, not all can be called references to roaring boys. Lodge in the passages quoted⁴³ was writing of Brawling Contention,⁴⁴ a personification comparable to his Blasphemy and Sedition.⁴⁵ Although Brawling Contention is called "a Ruffian, a Swashbuckler, and a Bragart,"⁴⁶ he is not called a roaring boy. Milligan's quotation⁴⁷ from Everard Gulpin's *Skiaetheia* (1598), Satire V, describes the behavior of the regular patrons of Bloom's ordinary, not of roaring boys.⁴⁸ The passage quoted⁴⁹ from *Measure for Measure* (1604) describes the patrons of Mistress Overdone's establishment in prison.⁵⁰ They, and not as Milligan says,⁵¹ roaring boys, are said to be "all great doers in our trade." Indeed, of most of Milligan's examples one must say, with Will Rash in *Greenes Tu Quoque* (1611), "This is no angry, nor no roaring boy, but a blustering boy."⁵² Milligan's important allowable evidence from literature within the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods is virtually limited to four works, which contain, it must be admitted, very few of the roaring boys in Tudor and Stuart literature: 1) Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613); 2) John Webster, "A Roaring Boy," incorrectly attributed to Overbury⁵³; 3) the ballad, "I Know What I know" (ca. 1620)⁵⁴; and 4) Rowlands, "A Roaring Boyes Description" (ca. 1620). Milligan does

not mention what is probably the best treatment of roasters, that by Paul Reyher,⁵⁵ which draws on all these sources except the ballad, and on a number of important sources which Milligan leaves untouched.⁵⁶ Other significant sources, however, are treated by neither Reyher nor Milligan.⁵⁷

Milligan alleges a second misconception, relative to the social status of roaring boys:

Because in literature roaring boys are not infrequently depicted as petty thieves and swindlers masking their nefarious activities under pretensions to gallantry and fashion, some commentators have been misled, I believe, into assuming that thievery and the pretended character of a gentleman are as definitely typical of the roaring boys as roistering, bullying, and vandalism.⁵⁸

Let us consider first how prevalent this alleged misconception is, second whether or not it is a misconception.

The only authority cited by Milligan in evidence of this "misconception" is Mr. Daniel C. Boughner, who says:

Pistol's ups and downs form a slice-of-life picture of the roaring boy, who on his more respectable side is a follower of the fashions and a pretender to gentlemanly attributes, but on his seamier side is the petty thief and haunter of the tavern and the brothel.⁵⁹

Milligan asks one to compare another statement by Boughner, that Pistol "seems closely modeled after a common Elizabethan type, the roaring boy, whose characteristics he displays. . ."⁶⁰ But to speak of a more respectable and a seamier side of the roaring boy seems to be different from stating that "thievery and the pretended character of a gentleman are as definitely typical of the roaring boys as roistering, bullying, and vandalism." The matter is, of course, one of degree; and it is hard to say whether one thing is "as definitely typical" of someone than is another thing because it is hard to define "definitely typical." One may fairly infer what Milligan means, however, by his statements elsewhere. The facts that many roaring boys are depicted as "mere thugs, criminals, and professional bullies"⁶¹ and that in many portraits of roaring boys "there is little suggestion of the young gentlemen or aristocrat who occasionally indulges in an evening of debauchery and riot,"⁶² perhaps have tended, according to Milligan,

"to narrow the modern student's conception of the roaring boy."⁶³

Few readers of Boughner's article, however, are likely to conclude that the author holds this narrow conception—indeed, the breadth of his conception is evidenced by his speaking of a more respectable and a seamier side—or that he regards thievery as prerequisite to roaring. Boughner is careful to state his case in terms of resemblances between Pistol's behavior and that of specific roaring boys and roarers.⁶⁴ Boughner, moreover, does not confine his discussion to roaring boys but points out that Pistol resembles other contemporary types as well.⁶⁵ Milligan has not shown that Boughner, or any other "commentators have been misled" as to the place of thievery and pretense of gentility in roaring.⁶⁶ Milligan's second alleged misconception has not been shown to be prevalent.

The question of the social status of the roaring boy, I think, has really not been studied. The evidence for it is the evidence we have been considering, and again we must confine ourselves to roaring boys so termed. Excluding Milligan's "historical" examples, which were not so termed, one at once excludes most of the aristocrats who occasionally indulge in an evening's debauchery and riot. Not all of the remaining pieces of evidence cited by Milligan are helpful at this juncture. The author of "I Know What I know" does not commit himself as to the social status of roaring boys. According to Rowlands, "the choicest, loving, dearest friends" roaring boys have are "punke and pander, thiefe, and coozening knave; Sharke, shifter, cheater, cut-purse, highway stander." These are represented as associating with, not as being equivalent to, roaring boys.⁶⁷ But Rowlands' evidence is divided, for he goes on to say that "Your Roring-Boy is come of such a strain." It may be felt that even Wither's testimony leaves the issue somewhat doubtful:

Yet these base slaues (whose lewdnesse I confesse
I cannot find words able to expresse)
Are Great-mens darlings, (As some vnderstand)
The absolutest *Gallants* in this Land.
And onely men of spirit of our time,
But this opinion's but a vulgar crime ⁶⁸

Wither refers to them also as "base Brotherhood" and "No common fellows"; but according to Wither the only respect in which they excel is villany. Wither does not state, on the other hand, that they

are professional criminals. He attacks them for drinking, swearing, lechery, noise, and godlessness,⁶⁹ not for criminality. Webster's testimony is clearer. Although his roaring boy may have been well descended, he now lives by borrowing and does not pay for his drink.⁷⁰ With him roaring is evidently a full-time occupation. Webster's points against the roaring boy are that he regards himself as a person of privilege⁷¹; that he affects illiteracy; that he interests himself in quarrels among the great courtiers; that he is a cheater of rustics, a self-appointed reformer of prostitutes,⁷² an imposer on his friends, a constant smoker, and an habitual drunkard.⁷³ Webster does not regard him as part of London's organized vice; he is no professional criminal. Neither is he a nobleman who occasionally indulges in an evening of debauchery; indeed, part of Webster's satire is against his interest in the quarrels of those above him socially. The three roaring boys in "The cheating Age," too, are clearly not gentlemen amateurs at rioting. The "Roarer with long shaggy lockes" is "New broke out fro Newgate, the Cage, or some Stocks"⁷⁴; he is a "totterd grim Ras-call" who makes horrible faces.⁷⁵ His two companions are "creatures in torne totterd cases," who have "swolne eyes, & patcht faces"⁷⁶. Although there is no definite statement as to the social status of the roaring boy in *The Wandering Jew*, he is not a noble amateur but a professional roaring boy: "a Battoon Gallant, one of our Dammees, a bouncing boy, a kicker of bawds, a tyrant over punks, a terror to fencers, a mower of plays, a jeerer of poets, a gallonpot-flinger, in rugged English, a Roarer"⁷⁷. He differs from Webster's roaring boy in possessing a love of learning, though the knowledge he evidences is limited to the history of murder.⁷⁸ Turning to evidence from the drama, Milligan would seem to agree⁷⁹ that the majority of roaring boys there represent not aristocrats but the dregs of London's streets: Kastril in *The Alchemist*, Cutting and Knock-hum in *Bartholomew Fair*, the roisterer driven from the stage by Spendall in *Greenes Tu Quoque*, and the rabble who take Pharamond prisoner in *Philaster*.

From the evidence discussed so far, then, it would appear that the roaring boy proper was not a young gentleman indulging in occasional debauchery. It would appear, also, that he was not necessarily a professional criminal with a place in organized vice as described, say, by Middleton and Rowley⁸⁰ or in the anatomies of roguery such as Awdeley's or Harman's.⁸¹ He was, rather, a professional bully and reveler whose roaring was not so much a way of obtaining a living as itself a way of life.⁸² The pattern of his behavior may

readily be pieced together from the many accounts of and references to it in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. Although derived in part from evidence which can not be admitted, Milligan's description of this pattern is not incorrect in its broad outlines. His deductions from the evidence, however, seem highly questionable. It would appear that the modern student perhaps needs to narrow still further his conception of the roaring boy to exclude both the aristocrat who occasionally riots and the professional criminal. Certainly the majority of the allowable evidence does not show, as Milligan claims, that "during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the term *roaring boy* was applied, rather indiscriminately," both to "boisterous young gentlemen" and to "petty swindlers, who imitated the 'fashionable' excesses of such young bloods."⁶³ These conclusions are borne out by two important additional pieces of evidence, to which let us turn.

An entire scene of Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1618) is devoted to showing a group of roaring boys in action and developing one of the lesser plot-threads of this comedy, the "fleshing" of the coward Lord Feesimple, who can not "endure the sight of any edge-tool."⁶⁴ In Act III, Scene 4,⁶⁵ Welltried takes Lord Feesimple to a tavern where the roaring boys Whorebang, Bots, Tearchaps, and Spillblood, terrible fellows with "*several patches on their faces*,"⁶⁶ are threatening to drown the helpless drawer in a butt of Malmsey unless he brings them more drink. Feesimple is at first afraid and wishes he had taken out insurance against his safe return.⁶⁷ Welltried, not one of the roaring boys but accepted by them, asks their indulgence of Feesimple. Learning of his affliction, Whorebang claps his sword on the table as an experiment. Feesimple makes ready to swoon, but sack restores him. Welltried quietly asks him, "what will you say if I make you beat all these out of the room?"⁶⁸ That, thinks Feesimple, is impossible; but Welltried assures him that it can be done because roaring boys are really cowards; their gashed faces were given them not by fencers but by their whores, who "strike 'em with cans and glasses, and quart-pots."⁶⁹ With the roarers they drink three healths to four of the Seven Deadly Sins. A quarrel arises, aggravated by Feesimple's presumption in daring to use the oath of the roaring boys, *Damn me*, and in the riot which follows the roaring boys are driven from the tavern. Feesimple is fleshed and begs Welltried, "If you love me, let's go break windows somewhere."⁷⁰ Welltried refuses to be "shot-log to such" as the roaring boys and tells the drawer to take their cloaks, left behind as they ran, for the reckoning. The grate-

ful drawer blesses Welltried for ridding the house of them. When Feesimple becomes sober next morning, he realizes the truth of what Welltried had said in the tavern, "many a Roarer thus is made by wine."⁹¹ But his new valor persists, and in Act V, Scene 2 he exhibits the roaring boys' manner and language, the right to use which he has now fully earned.⁹²

Much concerned with roaring boys and roaring is Middleton and Rowley's *A Fair Quarrel* (1617). Chough and Trimtram provide the satire by attending a school for roaring boys set up by the Colonel's Friend.⁹³ Roaring is a "mathematical science"⁹⁴; one may learn to roar in several languages: "Sclavonian, Parthamenian, Barmeothian, Tyburnian, Wappinganian,"⁹⁵ at a cost of forty pounds, half in advance and half when "allowed a sufficient roarer"⁹⁶. As Trimtram tells Chough, one "must learn to roar here in London; you'll never proceed in the reputation of gallantry else"⁹⁷. The play contains information on the history of roaring. The practice began, according to Trimtram, with Long Meg, a great cannon in the Tower. The Tower lions learned to roar from the cannon, and the bears in Paris Garden on the Bankside learned roaring from the lions. "Then the boys got it, and so ever since there have been a company of roaring boys"⁹⁸. One of the main ends in roaring is, after the quarrels, "to make all friends" in wine; "'tis valiant, but harmless"⁹⁹; another is to frighten one's creditors from collecting what one owes them.¹⁰⁰

Amends for Ladies and *A Fair Quarrel* are related, also, in having a similar bibliographical history. Their first quartos present peculiarities which may be of relevance here. In the second issue of *A Fair Quarrel*, in the year of the first edition, were added "*new Additions of Mr. Chaugh's and Trimtram's Roaring, and the Bauds Song*,"¹⁰¹ In these additions, which comprise Act IV, Scene 4, Chough and Trimtram practice their newly acquired ability to roar on Captain Albo, who is so favorably impressed that he goes off at once to learn the art of roaring himself. This interpolation, which is irrelevant to the plot of *A Fair Quarrel*, may well have been made for reasons of popular appeal. *Amends for Ladies*, too, had a second issue in its first year.¹⁰² Beyond minor variants arguing a correction of certain forms while the book was at press,¹⁰³ the only difference in the second issue, however, is that its title-page contains the words, "WITH / THE HVMOR / OF RORING."¹⁰⁴ In the year 1618 roaring seems to have

been of some special significance to the printer Eld or the publisher Walbank and, presumably, to their customers.

As we have seen, roaring boys can be placed, roughly, in Elizabethan and Jacobean times; but it may be possible to date the time of their flourishing somewhat more definitely. Field helps us when he has Pendant, the sycophant in *A Woman Is a Weathercock* (1612), say, upon fearing a duel, "I had as lief meet Hector, God knows. . . or, to speak more modernly, with one of the roaring boys."¹⁰⁵ Roaring boys were still flourishing the following year, evidently; for in *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), on a page cited by Milligan,¹⁰⁶ Wither complains,

But yet, there is a crew that much annoyes
The Common-weale, some call them *Roaring-boyes*;
London doth harbour many at this time,
And now I thinke their Order's in the Prime
And flourishing estate.¹⁰⁷

The testimony of Field and Wither is sustained by the fact that almost all of the allowable references to roaring boys mentioned in this paper fall within the decade, 1610-1620.¹⁰⁸ And the bibliographical evidence from two plays devoting considerable space to roaring boys pointing to a heightened contemporary interest in roaring and roaring boys in 1617 and 1618, may quite possibly indicate a superior claim for the last five years of that decade.

The University of Texas

¹⁰⁵Milligan, *op cit*, p 187

¹⁰⁶*Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse* (1596), *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge* (4 vols., Hunterian Club, 1883), IV, 68-71

¹⁰⁷*Ibid*, 71-73, 73

¹⁰⁸*Ibid*, p 68

¹⁰⁹*Op cit*, p 185

¹¹⁰Available in Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, No 2 (London, 1931), without pagination

¹¹¹*Op cit*, pp 187 and 190, n 6

¹¹²Ed Kittredge, 431-21

¹¹³*Op cit*, p 187

¹¹⁴*Dodsley*, XI, 198

¹¹⁵For a summary of the controversy over the authorship of Webster's characters see F. L. Lucas, ed, *The Complete Works of John Webster* (4 vols., London, 1927), IV, 6-14. It is surprising that Milligan makes so little use of this character. One of the best of the full portraits of the roaring boy

¹¹⁶Titled "Few Words are best" in *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads*, ed J. P. Collier (London, 1847), 97-103

⁸⁶*Les Masques Anglais* (Paris, 1909), pp 259-266 Why Milligan did not draw heavily on this work is hard to explain He probably knew of it since he cites Graves, who cites Reyher. Graves, incidentally, erroneously cites the final page as 264 [*op. cit.*, p 396, n 6]

⁸⁷These include, among others, Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman and Whimzies*; Jordan, *Pictures of Passions, Fancies, Affections*; Rowlands, *The Night Raven*; Jonson, *Epicoene*; Field, *Amends for Ladies*; and Middleton and Rowley, *A Fair Quarrel*

⁸⁸"The brave English Gipsy" in a ballad of that title protests that his associates "are no roaring boyes" [*A Book of Roxburghe Ballads*, p 185] Old Mull'd-sack in "The Times Abuses" contrasts his behavior with that of roaring boys, whom he indicts, and wonders why men choose to scorn him [*ibid.*, pp 282f] Sir John Melton describes the roaring boy in *The Astrologaster* (1620), p 72 Certainly these two last-mentioned works deserve mention in a survey of the roaring boy

⁸⁹*Op cit.*, p 184

⁹⁰"Pistol and the Roaring Boys," *SAB*, XI (1936), 227

⁹¹*Ibid.*, pp 236f Milligan [*op cit.*, p 190, n 2] misquotes "seems closely modeled" as "is clearly modeled" and cites only p 237

⁹²*Op cit.*, p 189

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴*Ibid.*

⁹⁵E g, he says, "Like Brawling Contention" [*op cit.*, p 228], "like the drunken knave in *Drogenes Lanthorne*" [*ibid.*], "Pistol is such a coward at heart as the roarer described by Brathwait" [*ibid.*, p 229], "His sidestepping the blame and his cowering Silence in Shallow's garden are reminiscent of Overbury's [*sic*] Roaring Boy" [*ibid.*, p 230], etc

⁹⁶E g, "he seems compounded with the bogus traveller . . . with the 'affectuate Traveller' . . . ; with the mighty gallant . . . and with the 'needie gallaunt' . . ." [*op cit.*, pp 232f]

⁹⁷He might have found both "les jeunes gens qui, sans penser á mal, s'amuse et font des folies" and "professionnels roars in Reyher [*op cit.*, p 265], but Reyher does not imply that roaring boys have to be thieves

⁹⁸*The Four Knaues*, ed E F Rimbault (Percy Society, London, 1843), xii-xiii

⁹⁹*Abuses Stript and Whipt* [*Juvenilia Poems by George Wither* (Spenser Society, 1871, 2 vols.), I, 243-244]

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁰¹"Hee hath runne through divers parcells of Land, and great houses, beside both the Counters" [*op cit.*, p 31], "The Tenure by which he holds his means, is an estate at Will, and that's borrowing" [p 32], "a man of no reckoning" [p 32]

¹⁰²"His life is a meere counterfeit Patent" [*ibid.*, p 31]

¹⁰³He is a *Supervisor* to Brothels, and in them is a more unlawfull reformer of vice, than Prentises on Shrove-tuesday" [*op cit.*, p 31]

¹⁰⁴"When hee goes not drunke to bed, he is very sicke next morning" [*ibid.*, p 32]

¹⁰⁵*Pepysian Garland*, p 245

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p 246 These roaring boys differ from the majority of their fellows in being cheaters at dice and, to that degree, criminals and if one wishes part of organized vice But I agree with Milligan that "In a lesser number of literary references, the offenses attributed to roaring boys indicate that some who went by the name were indeed swindlers, thieves, and bullies of the lowest class" [*op cit.*, p 187] Perhaps the nature of the story being told—how Leonard of Lincoln, on a journey to London, induced to play, is cheated out of his money and left to pay the reckoning with his cloak and rapier—determined this difference

¹⁰⁸Aldington, *op. cit.*, p 383.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, pp 383f

¹¹⁰Milligan, *op. cit.*, p 189 The last three examples, however, are mine

⁸⁰Cf Moll Cutpurse's exposition of its cant in *The Roaring Girl*, 51 [*The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed A. H. Bullen (8 vols., London, 1885), IV, 129ff.] Perhaps Moll herself, as the only example in literature of the roaring girl [Nares, *Glossary*, s. roaring boy], might have been found deserving of mention in a survey of the roaring boy in Tudor and Stuart literature

⁸¹*The Fraternitie of Vacabondes* and *A Caueat or Warening for Common Cursetors* are edited by E. Viles and F. J. Furnivall in *The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakspeare's Youth* (New Shakspere Society, London, 1880)

⁸²This point of view is supported by Graves, who writes "While these disturbers of the peace were always objectionable in their language and behavior, the majority of them seem to have been essentially harmless and disassociated with organized vice" [*op cit*, p. 396]

⁸³Milligan, *op cit*, p. 184

⁸⁴*Dodsley*⁴, XI, 103

⁸⁵*Ibid*, pp. 135-141.

⁸⁶*Ibid*, p. 135

⁸⁷*Ibid*, p. 137

⁸⁸*Ibid*, p. 137.

⁸⁹*Ibid*

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 141

⁹¹*Ibid*

⁹⁴*Ibid*, pp. 171f. Field refers to roaring boys also in *A Woman Is a Weathercock* [*Dodsley*⁴, XI, 58] and, as "Swaggerers," in *Amends for Ladies* [*ibid*, pp. 98, 125f.].

⁹⁵*Middleton*, ed Bullen, 41. J. P. Collier erroneously says the school is conducted by Chough and Trimtram [*Dodsley*⁴, XI, 139]

⁹⁴4 1 27

⁹⁵4 1 35f.

⁹⁶4 1 53f

⁹⁷2 2 212ff.

⁹⁸2 2 224f.

⁹⁹4 1 65

¹⁰⁰4 1 75ff

¹⁰¹Title-page

¹⁰²Pollard and Redgrave call this another edition [*Short-Title Catalogue*, p. 237], but incorrectly [see R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 175f.]

¹⁰³See my article on the 1618 quarto of *Amends* in an early issue of *The Library*

¹⁰⁴This issue is represented by the unique copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library, available to me on microfilm. A comparison of title-pages reveals that only a small part of the page was reset. Within rules, the subtitle, which has been placed between lines 2 and 3, occupies but little more space in the unique copy than the ornamental headpiece which fills the corresponding space in the first issue. The only other difference is the presence in the unique copy of a rule between lines 3 and 4. The remainder of the page, lines 4-14, is identical in the two versions and was printed from the same setting of type, as slight breaks in certain letters and exact correspondence of spacing prove.

¹⁰⁵*Dodsley*⁴, XI, 58

¹⁰⁶*Op cit.*, p. 186

¹⁰⁷*Op cit*, p. 243

¹⁰⁸1611 *Greenes Tu Quoque*; 1612 *Woman Is a Weathercock*, *The Alchemist*; 1613 *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1614 *Bartholomew Fair*, 1615 Webster, "A Roaring Boy", 1617 *A Fair Quarrel*, 1618 *Amends for Ladies*, 1620 *Philaster* [acted earlier], "I Know What I know," *A Pair of Spy Knaves*, *The Astrologaster*.



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PUBLICATION KEY

A	—Anglia	PE	—Psyche and Eros
ACS	—Andiron Club Summons	PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Association
B	—Books	PQ	—Philological Quarterly
D	—The Dial	SAB	—Shakespeare Association Bulletin
JLGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology	ShR	—Shakespeare Review
JSP	—Journal of Sexology and Psychoanalysis	SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
MLN	—Modern Language Notes	SP	—Studies in Philology
MLR	—Modern Language Review	SRL	—Saturday Review of Literature
		TLS	—Times Literary Supplement

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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



Viola Allen

Pericles: The Play and the Novel

Bricks Without Straw

Vertical Patterns in Richard II

Notes and Comment

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VIOLA ALLEN
1867-1948



VIOLA ALLEN

BY MAY DAVENPORT SEYMOUR

ON October 15, 1946, the Museum of the City of New York was given the privilege and honor of introducing Viola Allen to the public after twenty-seven years of retirement when she presented us her theatrical costumes, programs, photographs and other memorabilia, "the tools of her trade," as she called them in the graceful speech she made upon this memorable occasion: "They seem to have attained a fresh value, newly come to life in this lovely Gallery which I am proud to have the privilege of opening as the permanent home of the Theatre Collection. May it provide pleasant memories for the older ones who see it and perhaps bring encouragement to the younger ones."

So spoke this gifted gentlewoman, who had grown up in an atmosphere of Shakespeare in the theatre of another day. She did not live in the past, however, for up to the last day of her busy life she kept abreast of the times always with an unflagging interest in all that went on in this changing, restless world.

Viola Allen was born in Huntsville, Alabama, on October the 27th, 1867. Her father, C. Leslie Allen, a distinguished actor for many years, was a Bostonian by birth and her mother, an actress in her early life, was an Englishwoman. It is told that when Mr. Allen first saw his infant daughter, he murmured to his young wife—"Tis that miracle and queen of gems" and she replied with another quotation from *Twelfth Night*—

"It gives a very great echo to the seat
Where Love is crowned"—

What more fitting than to call this little girl, Viola?

In 1882, Annie Russell was most successfully playing the title role of *Esmeralda*, a sweet and homey play by Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett (immortalized by her "Little Lord Fauntleroy") and William Gillette whose *Sherlock Holmes* has placed him with the immortals. This play had enjoyed a long run at the Madison Square

Theatre in New York City. Both Mr. and Mrs. Allen were in the cast. To quote again from Miss Allen's speech at the Museum, the manuscript of which I have before me with numerous notations in her delicate penmanship:

"My own rather unexpected advent into the theatre came when home on vacation from an English boarding-school. I was given an opportunity to understudy the ingenue role in a then popular play that had been running a season in New York under the direction of a very noted stage director. A wise understanding mother was quick to see the advantage of such an association for future benefit. But it chanced the frail exquisite Annie Russell needed a summer's rest and I slipped quietly into the shoes of Esmeralda under the clever guidance of William Seymour a man of rare patience and great ability whom I was to welcome twenty years later as director of my productions "

Always Viola called me May SEYMOUR because, as she once wrote, "I must add that name for it seems to belong with the other and because it is dear to me as always bringing the heart warming feeling of your father's kindness to the littlest bit of nothing that ever came to rehearse before him." These words are but one illustration of her innate modesty and gentleness of spirit.

Once again I quote from her Museum speech: "Ever since I can remember I have heard Shakespeare read at home by my father, a real scholar and true lover of the Bard of Avon. So it was natural I should want to follow my first lovely experience with an effort to act Shakespearean parts, the ambition of almost every serious actor sooner or later. Luckily in my early days there were still repertoire companies headed by great artists. Once again as an understudy I became a member of the company of John McCullough (1884), a fine lovable, genial Irishman, as noble in his presence as in his acting. 'There is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will!' I had not long to wait before Fortune smiled again and I was called upon at short notice to play the lovely roles I had longed for—Virginia, Cordelia, Desdemona, Lady Anne, Virgilia, Calpurnia and other leading parts in classic and semi-classic plays until the tragic breakdown and soon following death of dear lamented John McCullough.

"Then came never-to-be-forgotten engagements with the scholarly Lawrence Barrett and the magnificent Italian, Tomasso Salvini (1885-1886)." In this engagement all the company spoke English with Salvini using his native tongue. I asked Viola if it was not very

difficult to pick up their cues. She answered me very simply but positively: "Why not at all—we knew our Shakespeare."—This has always seemed to me the key note of her art—she knew her Shakespeare. Once more I turn to her own words: "An ever-increasing repertoire with Salvini, including Juliet to his handsome son, Alexander, as Romeo was followed by delightful association with our own inimitable Joseph Jefferson, W. J. Florence and Mrs. John Drew in the old comedies. It all meant constant work and study but gave me the invaluable training and experience denied to most of our young people of the stage today.

"Long happy seasons at the Empire Theatre (1893-1898) in notable company brought me in contact with that beloved Napoleon of the Drama, Charles Frohman, before I joined the stellar group (1898) under the banner of the dynamic and greatly missed George Tyler, and kind Mr Liebler, and enjoyed the friendship and association of such noted authors as Hall Caine, F. Marion Crawford, Rachel Crothers, Clyde Fitch, Louis Parker, Pierre Loti and Judith Gautier and their successful and financially important plays,—not forgetting the very gifted colleagues who have appeared with me in 'The Christian,' 'In the Palace of the King,' 'The Eternal City,' 'The White Sister' and 'The Daughter of Heaven.' At last the time came when circumstances obliged me to choose my own path and I made haste to return to my beloved Shakespeare and felt again the indescribable joy of speaking his inspired lines and of bringing to life the glowing women of his creation: Viola, Hermione and Perdita, Portia, Rosalind and Imogen—incidentally proving that our American managers who at that time cried 'Shakespeare spells ruin!' were utterly mistaken. Finally came a season when I played Lady Macbeth to the superb Macbeth of James K. Hackett (1916) followed by Mistress Ford. Then alas! his long severe illness cut short his ambition and our contract for further productions.

"I think the tenderest memories of my very early days cling around the character of Cordelia in *King Lear*. Her answer to her father who was dividing his kingdom among his three daughters seems to me unexampled for shining truth and honesty Enthusiasm I think is one of the chief characteristics of the people of the stage."

In a letter to me dated August 30th, 1946, Viola wrote: "I find I have had the real joy of appearing as fifteen of Shakespeare's women—not of course all Juliets and Portias but some of the lesser

roles in the beginning. The list includes Lady Anne (Richard III), Calpurnia (Caesar's wife), Virgilia (Coriolanus), Desdemona, Cordelia, Juliet, Portia, Rosalind, Viola, Hermione, Perdita, Imogen, Lady Macbeth and Mistress Ford—and one other that in the hurry to mail this escapes me." As a matter of fact that one other might have been Celia in "As You Like It" which she played "for sweet charity's sake" at an all star performance at Castle Stevens, Hoboken, when Rose Coghlan was the Rosalind, Maurice Barrymore the Orlando and Agnes Booth the Audrey with William Seymour directing (June 16, 1891).

I have here before me a page from the old *Theatre Magazine*; it is undated but it is entitled "The Difficulties of Playing Shakespearean Heroines" by Viola Allen. I believe time and perspective have not altered these words from the pen of a woman who knew her Shakespeare:

"That there are many difficulties in the way of presenting Shakespeare is a fact, I think that no one will deny. Not that Shakespeare on the stage does not interest the public, but rather that those who know and love the works of the great bard so seldom see his immortal dramas presented in accordance with their own ideals. They are often disappointed because the stage characters do not altogether represent the ones they have pictured as the result of their own study or perusal of the writings of the countless commentators who have devoted years to analyzing the works of the greatest of dramatists; just as many persons prefer a book that is not illustrated because the artist's conception of the characters is sure to differ materially from the mental pictures, vague at first, but which develop as the story unfolds until they become so real as to cause a discordant note when confronted by scenes and faces differing so widely from the ones they have created.

Not only does the critic and the thoughtful theatregoer take his seat on a Shakespearean first night with his own impressions of the play and characters before him, but he remembers, also, other performances he has seen, and still others of which he has read.

Contrast the difference in the possibilities of success that confront the woman who attempts Juliet, Portia or Ophelia, with three hundred years of comparison and tradition to contend against as compared with those of one who appears before the same critics and the same audience in a play that is unknown, and in a character that cannot excite comparison because her interpretation is the only one."

From the clippings found in "Miss Viola Allen's Private Scrap Book" which has been entrusted to the care of the Theatre and Music Collection of the Museum of the City of New York, I find "any amount of commendation" for her interpretation of these Shakespearean Heroines.

In a review of John McCullough's *Othello* in the Morning Journal of February 7, 1884 we read:

"Her [Viola Allen's] Desdemona is a charming performance throughout and the actor himself says that it is the best he has seen of recent years. It is seldom that one so young as Miss Allen achieves the prominence she has. With her natural and quick intelligence her mind will adapt itself to the highest order of stage art, so that by the time she has matured a little the best promises of the stage will be in her grasp. Two or three years schooling such as she is having at present with McCullough will do her immense good, and pave the way for her as a successor to Mary Anderson, now our representative tragedian."

The drama critic, unsigned, of the New York Herald, one morning in May, 1885, reviewing W. E. Sheridan's *King Lear* wrote: "Miss Viola Allen was a sweet and gracious Cordelia. She looked her part well, acted it well and occasionally threw into it a genuine intensity which moved her audience."

In October of the same year Miss Allen played Cordelia to the *King Lear* of that great Italian tragedian, Tomasso Salvini at the Metropolitan Opera House. The New York Herald records that "He was ably supported by Miss Viola Allen, who as Cordelia scored a decided success. In the scene where she first sees her father mad, Miss Allen displayed much power." During this same engagement the Commercial Advertiser said: "Miss Viola Allen's Desdemona was graceful and feminine, but it was overshadowed by the largeness of the Italian actor's methods and was chiefly conspicuous by the contrasting tenderness of its sympathetic appeal. In the closing scenes of the play, however, Miss Allen rose to a plane of tragic intensity, which disclosed the power undeniably possessed by the young actress and which augurs most favorably for her future elevation to an eminent position upon the stage."

In the Evening Telegram, New York, January 21st, 1905, George Henry Payne regrets that Miss Allen "was not able to have given more performances of *Twelfth Night* for while there were frank demerits in the interpretation, it was, all in all, one that car-

ried intense conviction with it, and was really truer to the underlying emotions of the play than any other Viola seen here in years."

In this play, as Arthur Symons very well declared, "we find Shakespeare's magnificent farewell to mirth—all that came after was seen through a veil of melancholy Miss Allen's Viola was healthful and lovable, and she cast into it just enough of the strength of resolution to make it the really commanding figure that it ought to be. It is a bit of work of which the actress may well be proud."

Fittingly it seems it was as Viola that this Viola was last seen across the footlights. The occasion was a benefit performance in Scarborough-on-Hudson of *Twelfth Night* on May 30th, 1919.

On November 13th, 1946, just one month after the day Viola Allen so graciously presented the precious "tools of her trade" to the Museum of the City of New York, she was invited to be the guest of honor at the annual ceremonies held at The Players Club in New York City, commemorating the birthday of their founder, Edwin Booth.

The Secretary, John Knight, wrote for their Bulletin: "To have written her name on some of the grandest pages of our theatrical history, and to have fitted her career successfully into the larger pattern of happy creative living, is the rare achievement of Miss Allen. But it seems that she has carried in her memory one disappointment. As a young actress she almost, but not quite, achieved her dream of playing opposite the great Booth in some of his final performances.

"Happily for The Players, Miss Allen's triumph is now complete. As she spoke to us in the main lounge on Booth Day, and before the figure of the Prince in Gramercy Park, her moving tribute became one with the spirit of Edwin Booth on this, his 113th birthday."

On May the ninth, 1948, a little more than six years after the death of her beloved and deeply mourned husband, Peter Duryea, Viola Allen most gently fell asleep with a benediction for all her treasured players upon her lips.

*Curator, Theatre and Music Collection
Museum of the City of New York*



PERICLES: THE PLAY AND THE NOVEL

By THOMAS MARC PARROTT

ATTENTION has recently been re-directed to the puzzling play of *Pericles*, by performances at Stratford in the summer of 1947, and by John Munro's letter to the Times Literary Supplement (October 11, 1942). Since this letter challenges the now generally received opinion that the novel by Wilkins, *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*, follows and is based upon the play, it seems worth while to review the whole matter of the origin and publication of *Pericles*.

As is well known the original source of *Pericles* is a lost Greek romance, of which a Latin version, *Historia Apolloni regis Tyri*, is preserved in some hundred manuscripts. A further proof of its popularity in medieval times is found in the fact that it was included in the *Gesta Romanorum*, that catch-all of stories, and that it was translated into almost every European language; a fragmentary Anglo-Saxon version antedates the Norman conquest. In Chaucer's time Gower worked it up into a long narrative poem in his *Confessio Amantis*. With the dawn of the Renaissance in England, Wynkyn de Worde published in 1510 Copland's translation of a French version, and while Shakespeare was still a boy at Stratford Laurence Twine, an Oxford scholar and an "ingenious poet," wrote what he called a "simple pamphlet" which converted the Latin of the *Gesta Romanorum* into Elizabethan prose. Twine's "pamphlet," *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures*, entered in the Stationers' Register in 1576, exists in two editions, the earlier undated, the second a reprint in 1607, a date which may have some bearing on that of the play.

The first reference to the play is found in an entry in the Stationers' Register, May 10, 1608, "a booke called the booke of Pericles prynce of Tyre" for Edward Blount. It is worth noting that on the same day Blount also entered "a booke called Anthony and Cleopatra." In both cases the phrase "a booke called" points to Blount's claim to be registering the prompt-book, or a transcript thereof, of a play. In neither case does he name Shakespeare as the author of these

plays. There can be little doubt that the "Anthony and Cleopatra" entered by Blount was Shakespeare's; that the "Pericles" was remains a doubtful matter.

Before proceeding it may be worth while here to call attention to the changed name of the hero. For centuries in all the versions of the tale he had been known as Apollonius. In the play entered by Blount he appears for the first time as Pericles. No reason for this change is known; it is just possible that the author of Blount's play found Apollonius a rather difficult form to fit into Elizabethan verse and therefore re-baptized his hero with a variant spelling of Pyrocles, one of the characters in Sidney's popular romance *Arcadia*. This, moreover, is not the only change of name in the play. The hero's daughter, Thaise in Gower, Tharsia in Twine, becomes Marina; her original name is transferred in the play to her mother, Thaisa, who goes without a name in Gower and is called Lucina by Twine. Leonine, the servant bribed to kill Marina is Theophilus in Gower and Twine, a most improper name for a would-be murderer. Other difficult Greek names have been changed to simpler and more euphonious forms: Strangalio of Tarsus becomes Cleon; Athenogoras of Mitylene, Lysimachus. The playwright responsible for these and other changes was, it would seem, a good classical scholar, a fact which may argue against the original authorship of Wilkins.

Pericles, a dramatization in characteristic Elizabethan fashion of a chronicle play, adorned by dumb-show and spectacle, of a popular legend, was as we shall see, a most successful stageplay. And the success seems to have tempted George Wilkins, a very minor playwright and pamphleteer, to attempt a quite unprecedented feat in Elizabethan literature, to "novelize," if the word may be permitted, a play then upon the stage. Something of the sort, to be sure, was also attempted in the case of the very successful *Hamlet*, but the nameless author of "The Hystorie of Hamblet," 1608, is not writing a prose version of the play, but is translating, and botching in the process, Belleforest's version of Saxo's original with the purpose, presumably, of giving the reader a longer and more authentic version of the Hamlet story. The title-page of the Wilkins novel, "The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre," 1608, at once borrows a phrase from Twine's "pamflet" and calls his work "the true history of the play of Pericles as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet John Gower." Furthermore in the "argument" i.e. synopsis, which Wilkins prefixes to his narrative, he begs the reader

"to receive this Historie in the same manner as it was under the habite [costume] of ancient Gower the famous English Poet by the Kings Maiesties Players [Shakespeare's Company] excellently presented." These statements, taken at their face value, certainly affirm the priority of the play.

It is this priority which Monroe undertakes to reverse. He begins by italicizing the word *true* on the title-page, goes on to suggest that Wilkins "wrote his novel under a sens of grievance," and advances a final hypothesis that Wilkins first wrote his novel and then submitted a play on the same theme to the King's Men. They "handed it over to a better playwright for revision"—whereupon Wilkins produced his novel as the *true* history by way, apparently, of protest against the changes that had been made in the process of revision. This is not a theory that commends itself to students of Elizabethan literature. The idea that a hack like Wilkins should first write a prose version of the old legend, tuck it away in his desk, turn off a play on the theme, and then "under a sense of grievance," offer his novel for publication, flies in the face of what we know of the hand to mouth practice of Elizabethan hack writers. But there is stronger evidence than this against Monroe's hypothesis.

If, indeed, Wilkins wrote his novel before he (or another) wrote the play, he must have drawn his material from some easily accessible source. The nearest would be Twine's "pamflet" reprinted in 1607, but while his dependence of Twine is certain—he often transcribes whole passages verbatim—it is remarkable that whenever the action of the play departs, as it sometimes does, from the narrative of Twine, Wilkins follows the action of the play, not that of the prose narrative. Attention has already been called to the thorough-going change of nomenclature of the characters in the play. Here too the novel adheres to the play and departs alike from Twine and from received tradition. All this might be explained if Wilkins really wrote the play, and Monroe, basing his belief on the investigation of H. D. Sykes by whom "the rest of the rest of the evidence has been well set forth," assumes that he did so. But the weakness of Sykes's "evidence" has been well exposed by Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, I, p. 523), based, as much of Sykes' work is, on the shifting sand of parallel passages.

As a matter of fact the name of Wilkins would in all probability never have been mentioned in connection with *Pericles*, but for the fact that he was the author of the novel. A far better *a priori* claim

could be advanced for Heywood, as indeed was done long since by D. L. Thomas (*Englische Studien*, vol. 39) and later with more convincing detail by H. D. Gray (P.M.L.A. vol. 40). Heywood's classical scholarship would explain the change of nomenclature in the play, and his free handling of classical myth in many of his plays would account for the deviations of the play from the received version of the legend. If it be objected that Heywood was not writing for the King's Men a reply may be made in his own words, viz. that many of his plays were printed without his knowledge "by shifting and change of companies." It is by no means impossible that an *Ur-Pericles* by Heywood was so successful at the Red Bull that the King's Men secured the "book of the play" and handed it to Shakespeare for revision and production at the Globe.

To return to the Wilkins novel. It is a curious and amusing specimen of Elizabethan hack work done in haste to catch the tide of popularity. It is a composition in the true sense of the word, a mosaic drawn from two sources. One of these was, as has been said, Twine's narrative; the other evidently the play in its revised form. Wilkins, we know, had written in 1607, a play, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, for the King's Men, and his connection with the players possibly permitted him a sight of their precious prompt-book. If that were withheld from him, he must have attended so many performances of *Pericles* that his head was full of its diction and rhythm. Verse passages of the play appear with slight or no change in the prose of the novel. Monroe appears to think that here we have the usual case of Shakespeare's turning of his source into poetry, but there is one example cited by Chambers (p. 525) where Wilkins plainly misunderstands and makes nonsense of the original: the "diamonds" which "make the world twice rich" (III, ii, 102-3) become in the novel "those now againe priceless diamonds"; surely, as Chambers says, "a clumsy rendering" of Shakespeare's verse. On the other hand the novel has preserved for us a genuine Shakespearean phrase which is not found in the badly reported text of the play; *Pericles* in the novel addresses the new born babe, Marina, as "poor inch of nature," a true Shakespearean phrase which might well be restored to the text (III, i, 30-7).

So long as the successful play of *Pericles* was withheld from publication there might well be a market for a prose version in a fresher and shorter form than Twine's long-winded narrative. This was probably the view of Wilkins' publisher, Nathaniel Butter, an enterpris-

ing book-seller who only the year before had contrived to secure the printing right of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, and who later was to become the father of English journalism. His edition of the novel was well calculated to catch a prospective buyer's eye; it is a charming little volume, printed for the most part in the old-fashioned black-letter type with a wood-cut on the title-page of Gower in the costume presumably, of the actor who played that part. It is with a certain feeling of regret that one reads Butter's brief obituary, many years later, which records that this ingenious publisher outlived the Elizabethans and died in 1664 "an old stationer, very poor."

Whatever hopes Butter may have had of selling repeated editions of the novel must have been sadly disappointed. In the very next year, 1609, there appeared a text of the play itself, which naturally put the prose version out of business. Henry Gosson, a young book-seller who had recently begun to publish cheap and popular books, brought out a quarto edition of *Pericles* with a spread of type upon the title-page which in those days served the same purpose as the dust-jacket with its "blurb" does today. Gosson advertises his book as follows: "The Late, and much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes of the said Prince: As also, The no lesse strange and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his daughter Mariana [sic]. As it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Majesties Servants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare. —to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Paternoster Row." That should have made Gosson's venture a best-seller; especially as no new play by Shakespeare, except Butter's vilely printed *Lear*, had come on the market since the *Hamlet* quarto of 1604.

Gosson, of course, had no right to print a play which Blount had registered as his property; he did not himself register it, but took a chance and got away with it; two editions of the play were called for in the first year; another appeared in 1611, a fourth in 1619, and two more in 1630 and 1635 when it became apparent to lovers of Shakespeare that this "much admired" play was not included in either of the Folios of 1623 and 1632. We may note in passing that Gosson's name appears only on the 1609 editions. He may have sold what rights he had, or, quite as likely, his claim to *Pericles* was disregarded as he had disregarded Blount's.

It is quite certain that Gosson did not apply to the King's Men for permission to print *Pericles*. As a matter of fact they were at this

time straining every effort to keep their popular playwright's work from coming on the market. No one knows how Blount secured the right to publish *Lear* in 1608, unless he had a strong pull with Sir George Buck, Deputy Master of the Revels at that time, who formally licensed its publication. The "copy" that Gosson sent to White to be printed must have been obtained by sending a note-taker to the Globe to bring back a report in shorthand or by memory. As might be expected from such a method the text of *Pericles* is very bad indeed; verse is printed as prose, prose as verse, errors and misprints abound, and there are evident signs of omissions. None the less it was the only text to be had and, there was a strong demand for it; only two other Shakespearean plays, *Richard III*, and *I Henry IV*, were so eagerly sought for by Elizabethan book-buyers.

Pericles was not included in the First Folio. The reason for its exclusion is not apparent; the King's Men had a prompt-book which they could have sent to the printer in 1623 for as late as May 20, 1619, they had played *Pericles* at Court. Heminges and Condell could hardly have decided to debar it because of the presence of non-Shakespearean matter in the text, for they did include *Henry VIII*, a considerable part of which is by Fletcher, their playwright in chief in 1623, and *Macbeth*, which they knew to have been tampered with by Middleton while writing for them. Apparently they placed *Pericles* in another category; decided, in fact, that it was not a Shakespearean play at all. Possibly their judgment was influenced by the prejudice of Ben Jonson, for of all Elizabethan plays *Pericles* seems to have been the object of Jonson's very special aversion. In the *Ode to Himself*, written after the failure of his *The New Inn*, 1629, he vows to leave the stage where "some mouldy tale like *Pericles*" is received with applause. It is hard to believe that Jonson would have spoken so scornfully of this play had he believed it to be essentially the work of his friend, Shakespeare, the poet he had praised as the peer "of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome sent forth." In 1622 when the material for the First Folio was being assembled, Jonson was at the very height of his reputation and influence. He had ceased to write for the stage about 1616, when the King's Men produced his *The Devil is an Ass*, but he still retained relations with that company. He certainly assisted Heminges and Condell in the publication of the Folio, for he contributed the verses printed opposite the portrait of Shakespeare in that volume as well as the long poem: "To the memory of my beloved author," in which there occurs the praise of

Shakespeare as the peer of all classic dramatists. Moreover there is reason to believe that he either wrote or revised the address "to the great variety of readers" signed by Heminges and Condell which follows their "epistle dedicatory" to the Pembroke brothers. Jonson's claim to this address, advanced long since by Stevens, has lately been approved by Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, I, 142). In these circumstances Jonson's opinion must have carried very considerable weight with the player editors, and his contempt of the faulty construction, the jiggling choruses, and the antiquated dumb-shows, may well have vetoed the admission of *Pericles* into the Folio.

The Second Folio, a reprint of the First, also excluded *Pericles*, but after the Restoration there was a change of attitude towards the play. It was revived upon the stage, and the great Restoration actor, Betterton, was "highly applauded" for his impersonation of the hero. In an attempt to complete the collection of Shakespeare's plays the editors of the Third Folio, 1664, added to the second impression of that volume, *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, and six other plays, "never before printed in folio," all of which had been ascribed to Shakespeare, or at least to W.S. during the poet's lifetime. The Fourth Folio reprinted *Pericles* along with the other six, now universally discarded as apocryphal, and Rowe, Shakespeare's first real editor, who based his work on this folio, also included them.¹ Pope, however, rejected all seven from his edition, 1725, and his example was followed by later editors until 1790 when Malone restored *Pericles* to his edition of Shakespeare. Since that date the play has appeared in practically all editions, usually prefaced by an introduction in which the editor wrangles over the extent of Shakespeare's share in the play.

It is interesting to note that as late as 1874 Furnivall, the great English scholar, told Tennyson that he had never read *Pericles*, but that he had been told by good judges that it was doubtful whether Shakespeare had any part in it. "Oh, no! that won't do," replied the poet, "he wrote all the part relating to the birth and recovery of Marina and the recovery of Thaisa. I settled that long ago. Come upstairs and I'll read it to you." Tennyson's reading began with the speech of Pericles: "Thou god of this great vast" (III, i) and continued till the end of the play, omitting the brothel scenes of the fourth act. This quite subjective division of the play by a poet-lover of Shakespeare corresponds rather closely to the results of later scholarship.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss in detail Shakespeare's share in *Pericles*, but it may be well to sum up here what seems to be the best conclusion as to the origin and various states of the play. Some time before Blount's entry in 1607 a play called *Pericles Prince of Tyre* had appeared on the London stage with such success that Blount secured a copy, "the book of the play," from the actors and announced his purpose of printing it. There is nothing to show definitely that this was the play in its present form; its connection in the entry with *Antony and Cleopatra* may be a mere accident. It may quite possibly have been the *Ur-Pericles* by Heywood or another, a dramatization, probably of Twine's narrative. If so, it would be natural for Blount, a publisher of the fine literary taste, shown in his epistles prefixed to his editions of *Hero and Leander* and of Lyly's *Six Court Comedies*, to have refrained from publishing his "copy" after the new *Pericles*, revised by Shakespeare, had appeared at the Globe. He would have realized that to sell an impression of the old play would have been little less than a fraud on the buyer. This might explain also his failure to take action against Gosson.

Between Blount's entry in May 1607 and 1608 the King's Men had secured the prompt-book of the old play and handed it to Shakespeare for revision. Nothing can be more certain than that there are two hands in the play as we have it and that one of them is Shakespeare's. But Shakespeare here is playing the part of a reviser not a collaborator. He must indeed have been a rather reluctant reviser for the dull prosaic verse, the narrative-dramatic technique, and the dumb-shows would have been altogether repugnant to his critical taste. We may imagine him looking over the manuscript submitted to him with a certain contempt, combined indeed with a weary willingness to oblige his fellow-actors by furbishing up a catch-penny for them at the Globe. It was not until he came to the storm, the "terrible child-bed," and the hero's loss of wife and infant daughter that his interest was aroused. From the very point where Tennyson began to read to Furnivall the voice of Shakespeare can be heard intermittently, sometimes full and clear, often distorted by bad reporting, to the very end of the play.

Wilkins and Butter, it appears, took advantage of the success of the revised play, along with the unwillingness of the King's Men to permit its publication, to push the novel on the market in 1608.

No one but a very special student of Shakespeare is likely to read it today, but it will repay a glance in the reprint by T. Mommsen, 1857. Allusion has already been made to a Shakespearean phrase, "poor inch of nature" preserved in the novel, but there are other cases where the prose of Wilkins seems to echo the badly reported Shakespearean verse. In the interview between Marina and Lysimachus (IV, vi) for instance, the novel puts into the heroine's mouth a long and passionate speech in defence of her chastity, whereas in the play we have but a few lines in verse so rough and broken as to suggest heavy cutting or bad reporting, or, quite possibly, both. One would suppose Shakespeare to have done his best for his heroine at this critical point in her career.

The appearance of Gosson's reported edition of *Pericles* in 1609 satisfied as best it could the desire of Shakespeare's readers in his day. Indeed it has done so ever since, for all modern editions are of necessity based on the early quartos. If it really was Jonson's verdict that barred *Pericles* from the First Folio we of today may well regret his prejudice. It is highly probable that the prompt-book which served the King's Men for the performance at Court in 1619 and for another performance at the Globe as late as 1631, contained a fuller and clearer text than the things of rags and patches which has come down to us to puzzle and distract the modern editor. No one can realize how bad the original text is who has not taken the trouble to tackle it in a re-print of the quartos, where passages of lovely Shakespearean poetry and strong dramatic scenes stand strongly out against prosaic diction and confused action.

Princeton University

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE C Alphonso Smith ("The Chief Difference Between the First and Second Folios of Shakespeare," *Englische Studien*, XXX, 1902, 1-20) shows F₂ is more than a reprint of F₁, textual changes having been made by an unknown editor,—the thesis fully substantiated by Matthew Black and Matthias Shaaber (*Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors, 1632-1685*, New York, 1937, pp 1-242)



BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW

BY EPHRAIM B. EVERITT

A LONG the broad margins of Shakespeare's poetry is ample space for a multitude of admirers. Yet the serenity is continually disturbed by zealots who want exclusive occupation, and by scholars, whose intellectual activity is commonly measured by its overt manifestations.

Despite the partisan studies of the last sixty years,¹ Shakespeare cannot be made a Biblical scholar, a theologian, a preacher, or even a lay exponent of any sectarian view. He read the Bible and heard it glozed, but he also read for pleasure and garnered for profit history, fiction, essays, and poetry in Latin, French, Italian, and probably Spanish, besides his own tongue. He wrote for an immediate audience that included the erudite and the untutored: the cultured, the aspiring, and the indifferent. He was intermittently Anglican, Catholic, Puritan, mystic, sceptic, and pagan—but obtrusively so, never. Impersonal, unruffled, copious, the current of his dramatic genius had the way of a stream that meanders, turns mills, irrigates lowlands, and finally pours into the sea.

Hence it is a kind of impertinency to draw from context even the most gnomic of his verses. The patterns and reflections of his ideas changed in every play. Reading him should elicit not philosophies, but philosophy; not creeds, but religion; not opinionation, but comprehension. We enter with diffidence the numerous dissertations upon Shakespeare's religious predilections. Biographically, we know that he was baptised in an Anglican church, was married in another; that voluntarily or by firm encouragement of the government he attended Anglican services more or less regularly; that he acquired with New Place the supplementary privilege of a pew in the Chapel; and that he was buried in Stratford Church in 1616. He labored and prospered during the three most continually agitated decades of English religious history, with some very jealous rivals in the first period, and yet left not one jot of evidence of difficulties arising out of religious heterodoxy. He lived either a chameleon or somewhere

near the center of religious practice. The most intense efforts have been unable to link him successfully with continuing traits of either Catholic or Puritan.

The last and most thorough-going of these attempts is John Henry de Groot's *The Shakespeares and "The Old Faith."*¹² He has summarized exhaustively but with obvious prejudice the circumstances of John Shakespeare's civic and business career. The implications of his activity in "defasyng ymages in the Chapel" and "taking down rood loft in the Chapel" and apparently remodeling the building for Puritan concepts of propriety, the author slights. The concomitance of John's periods of prosperity with those times when Puritans were tolerated and Catholics oppressed, and of his disappearance from civic activity when Puritans were being persecuted, he minimizes. The Reverend T. Carter in his *Shakespeare. Puritan and Recusant* was no less biased in explaining the same facts, but one feels that in these matters where the facts are too indefinite to prove either case finally, Carter's thesis requires the less credulity.

The full and dangerous extent of Mr. de Groot's prejudice becomes evident in the second chapter, when he revives the old hoax of a *Spiritual Last Will and Testament* of John Shakespeare, perpetrated in the 1780's and printed by Malone in his "Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Stage" as a part of his 1790 edition of Shakespeare. Malone investigated the provenance of the manuscript and studied it attentively; he came to the firm conclusion that it was not the composition of any one of the poet's family. The discovery of the manuscript by a bricklayer under the tile of the Henry Street house sounds implausible: the subscription specifically provides for its burial with the testator; Malone noted at first that this might have been a copy of the original; hence it loses the verification that even a forged signature would have given it—or did Malone overlook the matter? The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are so uncharacteristic of 1600 that one can only stare at the attribution.

Now Mr. de Groot resuscitates this *Spiritual Last Will* because Thurston⁸ found in the British Museum in 1923 a Spanish version of the same formulary testament. That and other versions remove the impediments to understanding the text; to its connection with John Shakespeare, the father of William, they add not a tittle. The stories about the discovery of the paper were shot through with what we shall kindly call inconsistencies; the first page is conceded by its pro-

ponents to be a forgery (super-imposed upon a forgery!); the whole proof consists of trying to explain away objections to the *Testament*. One doesn't build a case, even a Shakespearean one, on rebuttal.

On this shifting sand, Chapter Three starts: "We believe that the influence of the home was Catholic . . ." The succeeding twenty pages have no single fact that can be confidently linked to Shakespeare's home life. The exposition of probable religious influences in school and church is briefer, conventional, and a summary of what is generally believed.

It is in the next and last chapter that Mr. de Groot steps into deep trouble. Only four short passages in the whole of Shakespeare's works yield any possible reference to the Rheims (Catholic) New Testament. Three of these are so tenuous that he discounts them himself. The fourth is an allusion to Matt. 7:13, which in the Protestant Bibles ran:

"Enter yee in at the strait gate, for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which goe in thereat."

In the Rheims version this became

" narrow gate because brode is " etc.

The Shakespeare parallel in *All's Well that Ends Well*, IV, v, 54-9, is

"I am for the house with the narrow gate, which I take to be too little for pomp to enter. Some that humble themselves may, but the many will be too chill and tender, they'll be for the flowery way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire "

Now it happens that this is the phrasing, arrangement, and idea in *Tarleton's News out of Purgatory* (c. 1590), one of the most critical antiCatholic pamphlets that came out of the fierce Armada days, and a book that Shakespeare knew well.

The further thesis that Shakespeare knew much about the details of Catholicism is well developed and, we suppose, entirely valid. But what is intended to be the clenching argument of the whole work revolves unfortunately about the rewriting of the older *Trouble-*

some Raigne of King John (published by Sampson Clarke in 1591). Dr. Lily B. Campbell, in *Shakespeare's Histories*,⁴ finds that "*King John* is, indeed, so like *The Troublesome Raigne* that for our purposes it seems unnecessary to discuss the plays separately." E. M. Tillyard arrives at substantially the same conclusion in *Shakespeare's History Plays*.⁵

But the old notion still lingers that Shakespeare modified the antiCatholicism of the earlier chronicle play. Mr. de Groot makes it the climax of his proof. By extensive and numerous quotations in parallel, he is more successful in showing that *King John* is better poetry than that it is neutral or proCatholic. Contrary to his assertion, John's title to the throne is no better in the first than in the later play, nor is he less traitorous. His deeds are identical and his motives the same. Cardinal Pandulph is treated with less dramatic naivete in *King John*, but his conniving between Philip and John, and his humiliation of the English king cannot be made palatable by any line of reasoning, and in the 1590's would have produced only contempt and indignation. King John is no hero, but Pandulph is certainly the villain of the piece.

To argue that the revision, in changing John's command from blinding Prince Arthur, as in the *Troublesome Raigne*, to enjoining his death, as in *King John*, degrades further the English ruler, is to be wholly oblivious to the dramatic effect of the gruesome blinding scene. Quick death has no such stigma as the torture of blinding.

Neither can any substantial proof of lessened religious antagonism be drawn from the omission of the buffoonery in the *Troublesome Raigne* with which the cloisters are invaded by the Bastard. In revising the play, Shakespeare was faced by the necessity of dropping scenes, and this piece of slapstick was the least literary in the whole drama. Similarly, to argue a more conciliatory attitude on the author's part because the king appears on the stage after he has been poisoned, rather than in the process of the murder, is moral obtuseness. And by removing from the play the pillaging scene in the priory, Shakespeare has deigned to provide the monk with even less moral justification for royal homicide. Queen Elizabeth's subjects knew only too well the hazard their own ruler ran daily.

The case does not stand at any point. It cannot be made persuasive with the most impartial presentation; his is not that. Mr. de

Groot has been ensnared in his own toils, for *The Troublesome Raigne* is an early work of William Shakespeare himself, as I hope shortly to explain and demonstrate.

Lehigh University

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VERTICAL PATTERNS IN *RICHARD II*

BY PAUL A. JORGENSEN

THE elaborate interplay of theme and image in *Richard II*, a play of single, unstudied vision, makes this work of unusual interest to students curious as to the youthful poet's intuitive workmanship. The fabric of *Richard II* has been found to consist of subtly repeated images: the sun, the earth, blood, gardens, jewels, tongues, and crowns.

Closely related as these pictorial images are, there is, I believe, a type of animated image yet more influential and more trustworthy as to the poet's fundamental thematic designs. Vertical motions of various sorts pervade the play; and these, continually shifting, nevertheless suggest in their flux certain patterns relevant to important characters in the drama. What is more, these almost incessant motions—now upward, now downward—have a compelling kinesthetic effect upon the reader or audience.

The beginning of the drama finds Bolingbroke and Mowbray accusing each other before King Richard. As befits their youthful overstrain, each expresses his ardor in terms of a *heaven-earth* antithesis. Bolingbroke, for example, swears by heaven and then affirms that his "body shall make good upon this earth" or his soul will "answer it in heaven" (I.1 30). One might easily overlook this conventional sort of language, and the affected stance which it demands, were it not for the way in which the play elaborates upon the *heaven-earth* pattern, giving it final, appropriate meaning at the moment of Richard's death.

Again, in the opening scene, one might normally ignore repeated references to Bolingbroke's "high blood's royalty," for the expression is figurative and trite. But the dramatist does not mean

for us to ignore them. With the quick change of emphasis characteristic of Shakespeare's best poetry, "high" takes on a physical, spatial significance. Bolingbroke throws *down* his gage, challenging Mowbray:

If guilty dread have left thee so much strength
As to take *up* mine honour's pawn, then *stoop* . . . (I i 73)

There ensue some hundred lines depicting an animated tableau, with both challenger and accused moving, bodily or in idea, up and down. Mowbray takes *up* the gage, accepting the challenge to "knightly trial":

And when I *mount*, alive may I not *light*
If I be traitor or unjustly fight (I i 82)

At the King's request, Bolingbroke explains his charge of treason against Mowbray, and so spirited are his words that Richard—only half-conscious of the irony—remarks: "How high a pitch his resolution soars!" (I.i.109). The ironic note is intensified as the King assures Mowbray of the "unstooping firmness" of his own "upright soul" (I.i.121), for Richard is soon to usurp Lancaster's property and is ultimately to stoop in spirit before the man whom he has wronged.

The scene of loud challenges continues as Mowbray gives the lie to his accuser "as *low* as to thy heart . . . Now swallow *down* that lie!" (I.i.124). And the rebuke persists in its downward movement, in abasement of proud Bolingbroke, as Mowbray *hurls down* his gage "upon this overweening traitor's foot" (I.i.146). When the King and Gaunt seek to prevent the combat, their words of reproof point downward. "Throw *down*, my son," urges old Gaunt, "the Duke of Norfolk's gage."

King. And, Norfolk, throw *down* his . . .
Norfolk, throw *down*, we bid. There is no boot.
Mowbray. Myself I throw, dread sovereign, at thy foot.
(I.i.161)

Unable to prevail upon Mowbray, Richard turns to the accuser: "Cousin, throw *up* your gage. Do you begin." But Bolingbroke, sen-

sitive as to his *height* (a symbol reaffirming his "high blood's royalty") also refuses:

O, God defend my soul from such *deep* sin!
 Shall I seem *crestfallen* in my father's sight?
 Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my *height*
 Before this outdar'd dastard? Ere my tongue
 Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong
 Or sound so *base* a parle, my teeth shall tear
 The slavish motive of recanting fear
 And spit it bleeding in his *high* disgrace,
 Where shame doth harbour, even in Mowbray's face. (I i 186)

This opening scene is as expressive as a ballet in its representation of vertical movement and stress. Pose, gesture are its main characteristics; but stylized though it is, the episode prepares us for the more significant animated tableaux which are to follow.

After this introductory scene devoted to the rises and falls, the dares and denunciations of hot-blooded youth, Shakespeare skillfully provides a contrast in tempo by presenting the slow, anguished posturing of two old people, Gaunt and the Duchess of Gloucester. Forceful "exclaims" by the Duchess cannot spur Gaunt to "lift an angry arm" against Gloucester's murderers. Like his son Bolingbroke, he looks heavenward, but not in the fervor of intended action. "Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven," he hopelessly suggests,

Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth,
 Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads (I ii 6)

The Duchess sees the death of her husband in a more violent image of descent: as "precious liquor spilt," as a tree "hack'd down" (I.ii 19). And rising to a futile posturing of anger, she pictures the sins of Mowbray, as he combats her cousin Bolingbroke, lying so heavy in his bosom

That they may break his foaming courser's back
 And throw the rider headlong in the lists. (I ii.51)

The idea of prevailing by mere weight is peculiarly suited to an aged person for whom gravity is a respectable antagonist. So, too,

it is appropriate that, her hope suddenly drained from her, she should remark:

Grief boundeth where it falls,
Not with the empty hollowness, but weight. (I.ii.58)

For both the Duchess and Gaunt, life is now a falling with little hope of rebound; and later, when Richard comments upon Gaunt's death, he uses the image best suited to describe a final descent: "The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he" (II.i.153).

From this scene of painful, futile movement, we turn back once more to the "sprightly" combatants, armed now for the trial at Coventry. But the mock combat scene, with all its flourish, is notable less for the struts and frets of the youthful antagonists than for the conflict which is foreboded between Bolingbroke and the King. Emphasis is now placed upon the rise of Bolingbroke, and two symbols, both implying vertical movement or stance, are to be constantly employed in this emphasis. The first of these is Bolingbroke's knee. The challenger asks that he be allowed to

kiss my sovereign's hand
And bow my knee before his Majesty (I.iii.46)

The suppliant knee is an inverse but apt symbol for the politic aspirant's climb. Richard, never one to miss a cue for ritual, descends to embrace his nephew "We will descend and fold him in our arms" (I.iii.54). Insincere as these gestures are, they are to take on a painful sincerity for the King in the mighty ceremony which this episode ironically prefigures—that in which the vanquished Richard descends into the "base court" to receive his vanquisher.

The second symbol now to be fully utilized is the more obvious one, that of Bolingbroke soaring or reaching high into the air. This challenger presents himself for the combat

As confident as is the falcon's flight
Against a bird. (I.iii.61)

Gaunt's youthful spirit, within him "regenerate" as he says,

Doth with a twofold vigour lift me up
To reach at victory above my head. (I.iii.71)

And he pictures himself "strong as a tower in hope" (I.iii.102). These expressions of soaring, stretching aspiration, following immediately upon the King's descent to embrace his cousin, prefigure, well before it occurs, Bolingbroke's return "with uplifted arms" to England.

Crossing but not barring the ascent of the challenger's "eagle-winged pride" and "sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts," comes the King's summary earthward gesture as he throws "his warder down" (I.iii.118). This simple motion, halting the empty ceremony of the combat, has solid repercussions for Richard. In *2 Henry IV* there is described the prolongation of this mechanical act in its human consequences; not merely the warder was thrown down:

O, when the King did throw his warder down,
His own life hung upon the staff he threw.
Then threw he down himself, and all their lives
That by indictment and by dint of sword
Have since miscarried under Bolingbroke (IV i 125)

The scene following Bolingbroke's banishment finds Richard bitterly impressed by his cousin's elevation of spirit. "How far," he asks Aumerle, "brought you high Hereford on his way?" (I.iv.2). Aumerle's answer sharpens this conception of the banished man by means of a pun:

I brought high Hereford, if you call him so,
But to the next high way, and there I left him (I iv.3)

But Richard is also conscious of the other side of Bolingbroke's aspiring nature, his self-abasement. He had observed, he tells Aumerle, his kinsman's "courtship to the common people";

How he did seem to dive into their hearts
With humble and familiar courtesy (I iv 24)

And Richard had also seen how "a brace of draymen" received "the tribute of his supple knee" (I.iv.32).

The King may ridicule the facile movements, up and down, of his rival; but he himself, by his weakness and by his reckless, selfish appropriation of the Duke's property, is now viewed as moving precariously on a vertical plane. To Northumberland, the King is bring-

ing shame upon "this declining land" (II.i.240). "Reproach and dissolution hangeth over him," he continues (II.i.258). Finally, the Earl relates the measures being taken to "make high majesty look like itself" (II.i.295). Though, as we shall see, Richard's imagination becomes equal to his misfortunes, his real stature now shrinks apace.

A major tactical error is leaving the regency of England to York while Richard departs with his army to subdue the Irish. York, like his brother Gaunt, is old; like him, too, he is by now reconciled to the supine philosophy that "Comfort's in heaven, and we are on the earth" (II.ii.77). When, therefore, he encounters Bolingbroke, self-repealed from banishment, he can offer only half-hearted rebuke. "Show me thy humble heart," he chides his nephew,

and not thy knee,
Which is deceivable and false (II.iii.83)

Like Richard, he is aware of his kinsman's actual height of spirit, and takes, as would the King, a kind of verbal pleasure in high-sounding threats to rebuke this haughtiness. "I would attach you all and make you stoop," he declaims (II.iii.156), but he is powerless to do anything except to "remain as neuter."

Although up to this point Shakespeare's representation of vertical movement has not seemed consistently deliberate, a significant pattern has become noticeable in the depiction of Bolingbroke. Upon the King's return from Ireland, we become conscious that for Richard, too, vertical movements of various sorts are indicative of habitual behavior. He has just landed in England after a "tossing on the breaking seas" (III.ii.3). The physical torment and indignity of this jouncing forebodes, in a grimly comic manner, the ups and downs of the spirit which he is presently to experience. His first act is to kneel and salute the "dear earth" of his own country, a symbol upon which the ensuing scenes persistently elaborate. Affection for this land makes him confident that rebellion cannot prevail upon it. In a favorite conceit, he pictures himself as the sun, now rising after the night when the rebels prospered (III.ii.50). Although, in this famous speech, he thinks of Bolingbroke attempting "to lift shrewd steel" against his crown, he comforts himself that "weak men must fall; for heaven still guards the right." He proceeds then, unfortunately, to illustrate how a weak man may fall, for upon news that

the Welshmen have forsaken him, he abandons hope, urging all to leave his side. But his mercurial temperament may as easily go up as down; and when Aumerle adjures him to remember who he is, he promptly strikes the brave pose that he had assumed at the beginning of the scene. This time, however, the earth is not for him the symbol of a cherished kingdom; it represents abasement:

Arm, arm, my name! A puny subject strikes
At thy great glory Look not to the *ground*,
Ye favourites of a king Are we not high?
High be our thoughts I know my uncle York
Hath power to serve our turn But who comes here? (III ii 86)

Who indeed but Scroop, messenger of further ill news, such as will turn Richard's vision back to the ground again; for

high above his limits swells the rage
Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land
With hard bright steel . (III ii 109)

It is now Bolingbroke who is high, and Richard low—in character as well as mood, for he unjustly suspects his favorites of treason. "Sweet love," observes, Scroop, "turns to the sourest and most deadly hate" (III ii 135), a proverbial expression which finds unusual aptness in Richard's intemperate disposition. But his thoughts swiftly pass from his old favorites back to a morbid scrutiny of the earth—this upon Scroop's announcement that Bushy, Green, and the rest have made their peace with Bolingbroke in that they now "lie full low, grav'd in the hollow ground" (III.ii.140). "Let's talk of graves," invites the King as he embarks upon a long soliloquy,

of worms, and epitaphs,
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth
Let's choose executors and talk of wills
And yet not so—for what can we bequeath,
Save our deposed bodies to the ground? (III.ii.145)

"For God's sake," he continues, "let us sit upon the ground/ And tell sad stories of the death of kings!" (III.ii.155). So once more he is on the ground, as he was at the beginning of the scene when he kissed the earth, but now the earth is one of graves, of worms, of

epitaphs. He does not, however, sit long, for Carlisle pricks him with the reminder that "wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes." "Thou chid'st me well," Richard exclaims, getting once more to his feet:

Proud Bolingbroke, I come
To change blows with thee for our day of doom. (III ii 188)

Unluckily, however, Scroop "hath but a heavier tale to say": York is now joined with Bolingbroke. It is with cause that Richard now testily threatens:

By heaven, I'll hate him everlastingly
That bids me be of comfort any more (III.ii.207)

It is "high Hereford" whom we see next. Disregarding York's characteristic warning that "the heavens are over our heads" (III.iii.17), he has come not only to regain his patrimony but "to reach at victory above [his] head." Stooping and kneeling become, however, the dominant symbols of his ascent to the crown. He may have previously sentenced Richard's favorites to death for making him "stoop" (III.i.19), but in the presence of Richard and the high nobility he protests that his "stooping duty tenderly shall show" how far bloody conquest is from his thoughts (III.iii.48). With a meekness almost melodramatically sinister, he tells Northumberland how gentle will be his corrective ministration to King Richard:

Be he the fire, I'll be the yielding water
The rage be his, whilst on the earth I rain
My waters—on the earth, and not on him (III iii 58)

(One recalls, of course, the significance of the earth in Richard's fancy.) Northumberland, the Duke's embassy to the King, performs his mission well, assuring Richard as he does:

His coming hither hath no further scope
Than for his lineal royalties, and to beg
Enfranchisement immediate *on his knees* (III.iii.112)

In his reception of Bolingbroke's message, Richard shows that his mind is still brooding upon the ground. He welcomes the poetic felicity of changing his "large kingdom for a little grave,"

A little little grave, an obscure grave;
 Or I'll be buried in the king's highway,
 Some way of common trade, where subjects' feet
 May hourly trample on their sovereign's head;
 For on my heart they tread now whilst I live. (III.iii.153)

Elaborating upon this vertical pattern of martyrdom, he pictures "some pretty match with shedding tears,"

As thus—to drop them still upon one place
 Till they have fretted us a pair of graves
 Within the earth (III.iii.165)

a picture resembling Bolingbroke's equally bizarre notion of raining on the earth. But he is roused by Northumberland's announcement that Bolingbroke awaits him in the "base court"—roused, however, only to further dramatization of his spiritual descent. Harkening solely to the verbal themes of Northumberland's message—"base court" and the further request, "may it please you to *come down*"—he adds to these suggestions two of his favorite preoccupations, sun and earth: now he is to be Phaeton, hurtling downward to inflame the earth upon which he was wont to brood:

Down, down I come, like glist'ring Phaeton,
 Wanting the manage of unruly jades
 In the *base* court? *Come down?* *Down* court! *down* king!
 For night owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.
 (III.iii.178)

Bolingbroke thus becomes, as the result of Richard's descent, the lark, representing the sun and daytime. The last line of the speech effectively echoes the King's earlier "From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day" (III.i.218).

But the Bolingbroke of reality is still ostentatiously humble, and as he enters the scene "he kneels down." The King, more alert to symbol than to substance, savors the irony of the act, and his comment plays upon the two dominant themes of Bolingbroke's knee and the earth, united here into an important vertical pattern:

Fair cousin, you debase your princely *knee*
 To make the base *earth* proud with kissing it.
 Me rather had my heart might feel your love
 Than my unpleas'd eye see your courtesy.
Up, cousin, *up*! Your head is *up*, I know,
 Thus high at least [*touches his own head*], although your *knee*
 be low.

(III iii 190)

The strident *up*'s of this speech contrast impressively, as Richard must have wished, with the heavy *down*'s of the preceding one. Richard, in fact, henceforth sees the relationship between the Duke and himself in a see-sawing pattern; and although this childish sport is not used as an image, it might have seemed appropriate to the King in its playful representation of tragic mutability.

Between this scene and that of Richard's deposition, there occurs the interlude of the gardener and his man talking of state. The gardener, like his betters, sees the decline of the government in terms of vertical patterns. But for him the earth toward which the King descends is not a funereal one of graves and epitaphs; it is the fertile origin for "too fast growing sprays"

That look too lofty in our commonwealth
 All must be even in our government (III iv.34)

Dangling apricots have made "their sire / Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight." And

He that hath suffer'd this disordered spring
 Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf
 The weeds which his broad-spreading leaves did shelter,
 That seem'd in eating him to hold him up,
 Are pluck'd up root and all by Bolingbroke—
 I mean the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, Green (III iv.48)

But in explaining Richard's deposition to the Queen, the gardener employs the metaphor of a balance, a figure better suited to depicting the see-sawing tendency of the King; for Richard at no point simply falls, as Gaunt and the Duchess had done. The fortunes of both the King and Bolingbroke, says the gardener, are weighed.

In your lord's scale is nothing but himself,
 And some few vanities that make him light;
 But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,
 Besides himself, are all the English peers,
 And with that odds he weighs King Richard down (III.iv.84)

The deposition scene is structurally dependent upon this see-sawing relationship. York, telling Bolingbroke of Richard's resignation, announces: "*Ascend* his throne, *descending* now from him" (IV.i.111). Bolingbroke, no longer humble, is quick to proclaim: "In God's name I'll *ascend* the regal throne" (IV.i.113). As Richard enters the scene, he tries to visualize himself in the suppliant posture formerly characteristic of the Duke, but he wants time to study his new role:

I hardly yet have learn'd
 To insinuate, flatter, bow, and bend my limbs.
 Give sorrow leave awhile to tutor me
 To this submission (IV.i.164)

Then he impedes the deposition ceremony—or rather makes it more ceremonious in his own abstracted manner—by pondering the curious see-sawing relationship between him and his opponent. Herein he employs the figure of Fortune's buckets:

Give me the crown Here, cousin, seize the crown.
 Here, cousin
 On this side my hand, and on that side yours
 Now is this golden crown like a deep well
 That owes two buckets, filling one another,
 The emptier ever dancing in the air,
 The other down, unseen, and full of water
 That bucket down and full of tears am I,
 Drinking my griefs whilst you mount up on high (IV.i.181)

In this conceit it is Bolingbroke who is up, whereas on the gardener's scale the Duke had outweighed the King. The latter is the more satisfying conception, for Richard, the lighter element, impresses the reader consistently as the "emptier ever dancing in the air." But Richard savors the bitter notion of Bolingbroke as high and himself as low. This relationship extends even to sorrow. "Your cares set *up*," he tells the Duke, "do not pluck my cares *down*" (IV.i.195).

And Bolingbroke's supporters are conveyors "that *rise* thus nimbly by a true king's *fall*" (IV.1.318).

Bolingbroke as king never achieves the regal magnificence enjoyed by Richard. Shakespeare seldom allows us to forget the role played by his knee in his ascent to the throne. No sooner, in fact, does he become king than he participates, unwillingly, in a scene dealing grotesquely with the art of genuflection. Aumerle has just arrived breathless at the palace to plead pardon for his intended treason. Throwing himself at the new king's feet, he cries:

For ever may my knees grow to the earth,
My tongue cleave to the roof within my mouth,
Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak. (V.111 30)

He has no sooner achieved provisional pardon than York enters, resolved to see his guilty son executed. He, in turn, is followed by his wife, a "shrill-voic'd suppliant" come to beg for her son's life. Before leaving home, she had promised Aumerle:

And never will I rise up from the ground
Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee (V.11 116)

As good as her word, she kneels before King Henry, firmly refusing his polite "Rise up, good aunt." "For ever will I walk upon my knees," she threatens, "until Aumerle is pardoned" (V.111.93). Her son joins her on the floor: "Unto my mother's prayers I bend my knee" (V.111 97). But the tableau does not become complete until York has knelt in opposition to both wife and son: "Against them both my true joints bended be" (V.111.98). The grotesqueness of this grouping is heightened by the awareness that he who remains standing is pre-eminently famed for his kneeling. The travesty continues as the Duchess questions her husband's sincerity in terms of genuflective endurance:

His weary joints would gladly rise, I know;
Our knees shall kneel till to the ground they grow. (V.111 105)

Henry, eager to terminate the interlude, urges her to stand up. "I do not sue to stand," she reminds him (V.111.129); nor does she rise to her feet until he has twice given his pardon. Surely after such success she is not unduly enthusiastic in exclaiming: "O happy vantage of a kneeling knee!" (V.111.132).

Such parody does not add dignity to the new king. Nor are we likely to remember his height, that other symbol of his aspiration, with more esteem. Final commentary upon his loftiness is made by Henry himself as he laments his share in Richard's death:

Lords, I protest my soul is full of woe
That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow (V vi 45)

Here is a far cry from the "high Hereford," young in spirit, who roused himself for a righteous cause. And it is worth noting that in *2 Henry IV* he should look back with weariness upon his former climb; he reminisces that Richard prophesied to Northumberland:

'Northumberland, thou ladder by the which
My cousin Bolingbroke ascends my throne—'

and then breaks off with a shudder of guilt:

Though then, God knows, I had no such intent,
But that necessity so bow'd the state
That I and greatness were compelled to kiss. (III i 70)

The state was, to be sure, regarded as a "declining land," but it is with Bolingbroke rather than the land that we tend to associate the bowing.

There is, however, some truth in the way in which the king of *1 Henry IV* looks back upon his rival:

The skipping King, he ambled up and down
With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits (III.ii.60)

Richard's capricious temperament does indeed give him scarcely more dignity, at times, than that of a skipping child. Even the imposing scene of his death reveals his inability to remain for long on one level of mood or idea. In prison he beguiles the time by playing "in one person many people":

Sometimes am I a king
Then treasons make me wish myself a beggar,
And so I am Then crushing penury
Persuades me I was better when a king;
Then I am king'd again; and by-and-by
Think that I am unking'd by Bolingbroke,
And straight am nothing. (V.v.32)

The important feature of his self-dramatization, not only within his mock drama but within the entirety of Shakespeare's play, is that he is never long content with one role. In one breath he is regal; in the next, he is abject. Furthermore, there is never an intermediate stage; up and down represent the full gamut of his personality. We never see him in repose, or while undergoing subtle gradations. Probably for no Shakespearean character, not even Hamlet, would it be more difficult to define the norm of behavior.

The death scene adds still more details to the strange vertical patterns which delineate the personality of Richard. His former groom visits him in prison and brings the pathetic tale of how Bolingbroke, on coronation day, rode Richard's roan Barbary. Hearing that the horse strode so proudly under Henry "as if it disdain'd the ground," Richard reflects upon the bitterness of the event:

So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back!
 That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand,
 This hand hath made him proud with clapping him
 Would he not stumble? would he not fall down
 (Since pride must have a fall) and break the neck
 Of that proud man that did usurp his back?

But then the symbolism of the act impresses him, and Richard suddenly conceives himself to be not the owner of the horse but the horse itself—or better still, an ass—bearing proud Bolingbroke:

Forgiveness, horse! Why do I rail on thee,
 Since thou, created to be aw'd by man,
 Was born to bear? I was not made a horse,
 And yet I bear a burthen like an ass,
 Spurr'd, gall'd and tir'd by jauncing Bolingbroke (V v.90)

The simile offers forceful expression—ridiculously overdone as usual—of the humiliation which the "skipping" Richard has had to bear under his rival. And it is possibly more than accident that the beginning of that humiliation—Richard's return from Ireland—was heralded by a rude "tossing on the breaking seas."

But Richard earns a measure of dignity by his regal pose in facing death. His final poetic vision of himself is not unduly fanciful:

Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;
Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die (V.v.111)

This represents the ultimate, and surprisingly exalted expression of the see-saw theme. It also serves to give final meaning and bite to the perfunctory heaven-earth antithesis of the opening scene.

The reading that I have suggested for *Richard II* should, if worth while, yield some insight into the central concerns of the play. And whatever general conclusions one may wish to draw—I shall here deal with only two fundamental matters—derive emphasis from the fact that the vertical lines which plot the movement of the play are a good index to the unique personality of the drama as a whole; unlike the conventionally accepted leading images, these vertical patterns are not to be found appreciably in other works of Shakespeare.

Their peculiar relevance to *Richard II* is indicated by the way in which they control and illuminate its dramatic form. It is true, as Willard Farnham has noted, that "the structure of the play is well calculated to aid its protagonist in calling to our minds the round of Fortune's wheel . . . In the third act we find that Richard has run a course of rising action and has begun his descent. Pressing behind him upon the turning wheel, rising as he falls, comes Bolingbroke." As a description of the large, general movement of the play this is apt, for it is ably based upon the medieval notion then prevalent. But Fortune's wheel (never mentioned in the play), with its connotation of slow and majestic rise and fall, is an inept symbol for the incessant, nervous activity which animates the drama. Richard does not make one stately ascent and descent. He is tossed, he teeters, he dies many times before his death. The image of Fortune's buckets, carefully elaborated by Richard himself (as Professor Farnham notes), probably best symbolizes, for this play and for tragic life as a whole, the whimsical, often indecisive governance attributed to fate.

Finally, this study of patterned motion within the play may suggest a necessary enlargement upon the conventional methods of

examining Shakespeare's imagery. It has been noted by Caroline Spurgeon that the leading images may subtly but insistently contradict the more obvious import of speeches and action. It is not carrying the play too much farther into the scholar's study to assert that Shakespeare's intuition led him occasionally to a still finer subtlety; namely, to a contradiction of the meaning carried by the pictorial images themselves. In regard to *Richard II* one thing seems fairly certain: there is something not entirely convincing about the pomp and gorgeous decorativeness of the play. Its most exalted scenes leave one uncertain as to the dignity of the participants, uneasy as to the appropriateness of solemn emotion. One may therefore wonder how scholars could so earnestly have busied themselves charting the ornate, verbal pictures with which the play abounds, neglecting the fact that these images do not in themselves afford the necessary contradiction to the impressive surface meaning of the lines.

It may well be that the vertical activity which agitates the play influences our interpretation of the static pictures. Richard and Bolingbroke move constantly up and down; with them move, often grotesquely, the picturesque symbols of their universe. We see these beautiful images, not in repose, but in a regular, involuntary movement that coruscates them.

It is understandable that *Richard II* should occasionally impress modern readers as a story more troubled by ironical meaning than were the conventional sad stories of the death of kings. Probably, to be sure, Shakespeare meant the play to have mainly political import, and this was concerned with the serious, unironical business of deposing a king. Nevertheless Shakespeare chose not to take sides in presenting this vital and dangerous political problem; he wisely portrayed both Richard and Henry as at fault. Consequently it would have been an error in dramatic emphasis if either character were seriously to engage our sympathies. One way in which Shakespeare holds his audience aloof from full emotional participation with either side is by showing the significant discrepancy between pose and conduct, between the "pompous body" and the indignities to which it was subject, and between the lofty aspiration and the meanness of its execution. This discrepancy is dramatically enhanced by skilful elaboration of a simple contrast: that between up and down.

*University of California
Los Angeles*



NOTES AND COMMENT

THE portrait of Miss Viola Allen as *Viola* in *Twelfth Night*, her most successful role, reproduced in the frontispiece, was painted by Harold Dunbar in 1905. Through the good offices of her niece, Viola Allen Duryea, and her nephew, Charles W. Allen, of New York, The Folger Shakespeare Library recently received it as a noteworthy addition to the large collection of paintings of Shakespearean actors and actresses.

Dr. McManaway reports that at the time of her death Miss Allen was planning to give to the Folger collection the portrait of herself (hanging in the Empire Theatre, New York) in the role of *Glory Quayle* in Sir Hall Caine's dramatized novel, *The Christian*. This play, marking Miss Allen's first appearance as a star, Oct. 10, 1898, was duly damned by William Winter, the highly conservative and venerable critic, with the astringent comment he levelled at all the new fashions in drama. Though Winter deplored the mixture of perfervid romantic-religious sentimentality and didacticism of *The Christian*—which he stigmatized "as a treatise on sociology," he reserved his special venom for Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* and the realistic plays of Pinero, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, *Iris*, etc. "It is wrong to endeavor to convert either the field of fiction or the field of the stage into a form for the discussion of social problems. No theatrical audience can be found that will long endure the Moral Bore." (*The Wallet of Time*, 2 vols. 1913, Moffett, Yard & Co., N.Y. II, p. 437).

Of Miss Allen's performance he wrote: "Glory Quayle is more than "common talk" and has magnificent golden hair and exceedingly large gray eyes, in one of which there is a brown spot and she is possessed of a voice that can grow deep and delicious, so as to wile even a bear out his winter quarters. Miss Allen, although in a different style, she possesses a beauty of her own, could not correspond to that description and neither did she suggest a temperament as unstable as water or a mind as volatile as a puff of wind. The girl represented by her was now one thing and now another, but in so far as she was clearly anything, she was a sensuous, coquettish, capricious young

Mary T. Sharpe, President of the Shakespeare Club of New York City, called upon Monsignor William T. Dillon, President of St. Joseph College, to give the Invocation. Clarence Derwent, President of Equity, made a most interesting and practical toastmaster. Over the years he has engaged in many struggles upon the battlefields of Shakespeare and has acted in over thirty of the Bard's plays. He is now serving as delegate to the meeting of the International Theatre Institute at Prague. Michael Redgrave and Flora Robson of the English "Macbeth" company, among the guests on the dais, spoke eloquently, and were followed by President Harvey Wiley Corbett of the National Arts Club, who has designed some of the notable buildings of the century, including Radio City, and is author of the "Corbett Plan" for the United Nations development.

Mr Arthur Heine, President elect of the New York Shakespeare Club and earnest worker for the Shakespeare Association of America, then nominated for Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association the following, seconded by the Vice President John H H Lyon of Columbia University and unanimously elected.

Florence Sutro Anspacher	Robert Porterfield
Harvey Wiley Corbett	Michael Redgrave
Katherine Cornell	Flora Robson
Clarence Derwent	William Hobart Royce
José Ferrer	Dr. George N Shuster
George Freedley	Leonora Speyer
John Gielgud	Kent Smith
Dr. James G. McManaway	Dr. Milton Smith
Sister M. Monica	Dr. Robert M Smith
Dr. Thomas Marc Parrott	Godfrey Tearle

Further addresses followed by Robert Porterfield, Director The Barter Theatre of Virginia State Theatre, Dr. James G McManaway of The Folger Shakespeare Library, Dr. Thomas Marc Parrott, Professor Emeritus, Princeton University, Dr. Milton Smith, Director of The Brander Matthews Theatre.

The finale was a delightful presentation of G. Bernard Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* by The Six O'Clock Theatre with Director Fred Stewart, Miss Hilda Vaughn, Mr. Joseph Anthony, Miss Norma Chambers, and Mr. Jabez Gray, by special arrangement with A N T A. The dinner concluded with the Benediction by Monsignor Dillon.

R. M. S.

EDITOR'S NOTE — We learn with regret of the passing of our honorary vice-president, Aurelia Henry Reinhardt.

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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke

Three Notes on *The Merchant of Venice*

Shylock's Humour

The Shakespearean Apostrophe

VOLUME XXIII

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THE GAINSBOROUGH PORTRAIT OF DAVID GARRICK WITH HIS ARM AROUND THE BUST OF SHAKESPEARE WAS DESTROYED ON DECEMBER 5, 1946, BY A FIRE THAT DAMAGED THE UPPER PART OF THE STRATFORD-ON-AVON TOWN HALL



ON THE DESTRUCTION BY FIRE OF GAINSBOROUGH'S
PORTRAIT OF DAVID GARRICK

By DAVID LESLIE ROBIN GUTHRIE

Now shall we deeply mourn the world's great loss
In fire by night on Avon's peaceful banks;
And to old woes must add the extra cross
Of one more beauty torn from thinning ranks.
Genius—the love of it—consumed in flames!
What matter? Still survives our Hollywood,
The witch-pot mother of more famous names
Than Shakespeare's, swear men by the Holy Rood!
Dear Voice of England, know that some still live
By the immortal memory of thy line;
That they, till darkness steals their souls, shall give
All praise and gratitude before your shrine.
Blest poet, on our knees—Thank God for thee!
Beauty's sweet tutor for Eternity.



PROFESSOR C. F. TUCKER BROOKE

The Scholar as Artist

BY ERNEST BRENNECKE, JR.

THE amateur Shakespearean commentator, eager to win his spurs with fresh discoveries on a continent of literature already rather thoroughly explored, is sometimes tempted to forsake common sense and to come forward with something fantastic, but plausible on paper if not in the theatre. For instance, it would be childishly easy for him to develop the thesis that the really sympathetic character in *Hamlet* was not intended by Shakespeare to be the sullen, cruel, and murderous Prince, but rather the long-suffering, popular, and pious King Claudius. I should not be astonished if this manifest absurdity has not already been committed.* Such aberrations do not surprise us when they are offered by small and hungry wits, nor when they come from the lunatic fringes of pseudo-criticism. But what are we to say when they spring from one of the very fountainheads of Elizabethan learning and wisdom?

The question may be worth pursuing, and some answers may be suggested by a reading of the recently published Shakespearean essays by the late Professor Tucker Brooke,¹ who was for many years a solid ornament of American scholarship, and whose loss we all deplore. His books on Marlowe,² on the Tudor drama,³ and on Shakespeare himself,⁴ as well as his critical editions of the Apocrypha,⁵ the Songs,⁶ and the Sonnets,⁷ comprise a contribution of which any investigator and educator may be proud indeed. Brooke's style, too, has its many moments of charm; his sound and far-flung erudition never quite obscures his native wit, sometimes charming, sometimes mordant. All these virtues reappear in this posthumous collec-

* Editor's Note See Howard Mumford Jones, *The King in Hamlet*, *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 1865, Nov. 20, 1918, G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, London, 1930, pp. 34-50.

tion of nineteen miscellaneous pieces, gathered together from various periodicals and manuscripts and now printed as a memorial volume, at the suggestion of the professor's former students.

How is one to respond, then, to Brooke's thesis, advanced in apparent sobriety, that "Iago was to Shakespeare intensely, even romantically attractive,"⁸ and that the dramatist intended his audience to see that venomous character in the same warm light? In support of this view the interpreter solemnly reminds us that, before the catastrophe, this was the impression that Iago made on Cassio, Emilia, Roderigo, Desdemona, and Othello himself. He affects not to notice that all these characters were already dupes in the mind of the audience, which had been carefully enlightened by the villain himself. Brooke continues to argue that we should respond as affectionately to Iago as we do to Falstaff, who was likewise a clever and cynical liar. Such a complete disregard of the play's manifest effect upon the audiences of more than three centuries can only lead to the contemptuous disparagement of a playwright who knew so little of his craft that he had to wait for the Sterling Professor of English at Yale to divine his real intentions.⁹

There are other entertaining specimens of Brooke's quondam passion for paradox in this collection. Arguing that *The Fairy Queen* is indeed an enthralling and anything but a tedious work, his pedagogical enthusiasm constrains him to urge also that it is a masterpiece of structure and compression,¹⁰ and anything but an allegory. "Allegory, forsooth!" he exclaims to his disciples, who here also learn, to their astonishment and delight, that they must not, when reading that "bourgeois" tragedy, *Lear*, yield too readily to their impulsion "to weep over the wounded vanity of a silly old man or shudder at his exposure in a casual storm."¹¹

Let me at once add that such extravagant fancies as these are not found on every page of this volume. Even the essays in which they appear are treasuries of well-fortified and persuasive observation. But why do they appear at all? What do they indicate?

First, that even the greatest of scholars must have his moments of refreshing human irresponsibility, born not of ignorance or stupidity, but of mental vitality and exuberance. How much that is

irrational have we not enjoyed in our Shakespeare himself! Who would want a landlocked Bohemia? And if the critic, as well as the poet, is an artist, we must allow him a few wild oats of inconsistency. For the fact that Brooke proved himself an artist-scholar we can feel only gratitude.

Second, Brooke's moments of aberration occur mainly in his earlier work; they become less frequent with the passage of years, and were doubtless regretted by him as he grew into riper maturity. The *Lear* theory was advanced in 1913, thirty-five years ago, when the author was a mere thirty years of age; the Iago interpretation in 1918, and the Spenser in an old lecture which its author never approved for publication. To publish these at the present time is perhaps doing no real service to the defenceless departed.

Third, if one reads through the present collection, not in the haphazard sequence in which the essays are presented, but in the chronological order of their publication, one may observe not only a decrease in the number of questionable theses, but a steady advance in artistry—the artistry of both research and insight. The same story of the emergence of the artist out of the pedagogue could be illustrated by a fresh review of his books and editorial accomplishments. Such a rehearsal would carry one beyond the limits of the present review. Fortunately, some of the present fugitive items provide sufficient evidence upon which to suggest at least a rough survey of the scholar's development.¹²

Even in Brooke's earlier pieces, on such occasions when he chose simply to share his findings and pleasures with his readers, the result provides much welcome enlightenment. His hitherto unpublished essay on Marlowe,¹³ his report on the Shakespeare Tercentenary (1917),¹⁴ his animadversions on Hamlet's third soliloquy (1917),¹⁵ are models of casual, accurate, and entertaining scholarship, and they are packed with pertinent and curious information.

The unmistakable artist manifests himself in the study of Shakespeare's personal character in "Shakespeare Apart" (1921),¹⁶ which offers us an invaluable blend of fact, common sense, and imagination. Some years later, in "Shakespeare's Study in Culture and Anarchy," (1928),¹⁷ we are given some surprising and highly

individualized speculation, but nothing that offers the slightest affront to one's sense of fact or of logic. Here Brooke draws up a provocative analogy between the England that Shakespeare knew, its imminent future as the poet might have envisioned it, and the cultural conflicts before ancient Troy, as the dramatist presented them in *Troilus*:

I cannot help imagining [writes Brooke] that he [Shakespeare] is, however subconsciously, anatomizing the England of the dying Elizabeth within the wall, the febrile Essex type of decadent chivalry, without, the strident go-getters of the newer dispensation Cecil-Ulysses and Raleigh-Diomed I take it that Shakespeare glimpsed somehow the seriousness of the cleavage between Cavalier and Puritan, sensed in Thersites the lowering shadow of Prynne and the iconoclasts, foresaw in Pandarus the portent of the scandalous Carr, Earl of Somerset Indeed, when reading the great culminating scene (the second of Act V), in which Troilus, the heartbroken young cavalier, and the shrewd old puritan, Ulysses, are drawn together against a giddy and immoral universe, one may almost feel that the writing is prophetic—that the thing must have happened, not at ancient Troy but forty years after the play was created, on some night when Royalist and Cromwellian met beneath the walls of Oxford ¹⁸

This sort of thing may inspire the disparagement of the pundit who cannot lift his nose out of the frog-pond of fact in order to sniff the heady air of surmise But if such sniffing is ever condonable (and what would facts be worth if they did not lead to such?), they are condonable in such a passage of insight as this.

In 1938 Professor Brooke produced his evaluation of the literary accomplishments of Sir Walter Raleigh.¹⁹ In it he gives us a delicately balanced picture of one of the fiercest and most sensitive minds of the age His appraisal of Raleigh's achievements in verse is beyond cavil. But, like many others, he takes quite seriously Sir Walter's letter to Cecil on the occasion of his incarceration for his temerity in marrying Elizabeth Throgmorton:

My heart was never broken to this day [wrote Raleigh] that I heard the Queen goes so far off—whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her, in a dark prison, all alone . . . I that was wont

to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, etc., etc.²⁰

The obvious sycophancy of the document seems to have eluded even the insight of Professor Brooke. It could illustrate only the fact that Raleigh, for all his courtly cleverness, could overstep himself. It did not, in its time, deceive the redoubtable intelligence of Elizabeth herself, who, avid for flattery as she was, refused to be moved by this surfeit of fulsome adulation. She took no steps to release the author from the Tower.

But when he was no longer the courtier, but a mere miserable human being awaiting decapitation, Raleigh could and did write imperishable prose to his wife:

My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead, and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more I would not, with my last Will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess Let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust And seeing that it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you in this life, bear my destruction gently, and with a heart like yourself ²¹

Professor Brooke might have substituted this passage, with its genuine emotion, for the insincere claptrap of the Cecil letter. On the other hand, Brooke's selections from the *History of the World* are impressively chosen, arranged, and discussed so as to reveal the magnificent range of Raleigh's interests and the power of his style.

Although it antedates Brooke's piece on Raleigh, his estimate of the character of Shakespeare's Queen (1927)²² fits conveniently into this scattered series of comments. It should be read together with the delightful essay on Elizabeth's prayers (1938).²³ Here our critic adds his voice to the chorus of admiring allegiance which has resisted, for nearly four centuries, the opposing chant of defamation, and of sentimental adoration of Mary of Scotland. He rightly emphasizes the English Queen's brilliance in statecraft, in learning, in courage, in a certain kind of regal piety, in an adherence to her own mysterious concept of virginity. But as counsel for the defense he unnecessarily shuts his eyes to some of her temperamental frailties. He might have added that she was an almost unendurable termagant in her house-

hold, grasping and miserly to a degree, deceiving and persecuting her ladies, and so badgering even her faithful Lord Treasurer Burghley that he "oft shed a plenty of tears."²⁴ Such an addition might have brought a welcome touch of humanity to this otherwise admirable portrait.

And so we may continue to differ with Tucker Brooke on this point or that, even in his most mature and valuable work. But such differences as he then inspires are healthy indeed. As long as the clashes of opinion amongst us "Strafordians" are intelligent and friendly, we remain in good condition. Of the Baconians, incidentally, Brooke observes:

There was once a time when it seemed a mark of daring and original thought to assert the identity of Francis Bacon with the author of the Shakespearean dramas. That time is now past and the mere Baconian is in sorry plight. His doctrine is as hackneyed as that of the Shakespearean and it lacks the compensating satisfaction of reason. There are few joys in being illogical when one must also be flat.²⁵

For his many such effusions we shall long continue to award our gratitude to our late colleague and artist.

Columbia University

¹Tucker Brooke, *Essays on Shakespeare and Other Elizabethans*, Yale University Press, 1948

²Tucker Brooke, *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe*, New Haven, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Transactions*, vol. 25), 1922; C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido*, London, Methuen, 1930

³C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama*, Boston, New York, etc., Houghton Mifflin, 1911

⁴Tucker Brooke, *Shakespeare of Stratford*, Yale University Press, 1926.

⁵*The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918.

⁶*The Shakespeare Songs*, ed. by Tucker Brooke, New York, W. Morrow & Co., 1929.

⁷*Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by Tucker Brooke, Oxford University Press, 1936

⁸*Op. cit.*, pp. 46, ff

⁹Brooke's curious attempt to whiten Iago's complexion was elaborated thirteen years

later by J W Draper (*PMLA*, vol 46, pp 724-737), who argued that since Iago recognized the distinction between good and evil, he could not have been an evil man—he only did wicked deeds, and sincerely believed that Emilia had been seduced by Othello. The suggestion was further developed by S A Tannenbaum ("The Wronged Iago," *SAB*, January, 1937, vol XII, no 1), who was compelled to indicate that perhaps Othello *had* invaded his Ensign's honor. E E Stoll (*Shakespeare and other Masters*, Cambridge, Mass, 1940, pp 234-6) provides a sensible review of the whole rather pointless controversy. One may find mild exhilaration in the many continuing Shakespearean disputes of this kind. Again, Brooke (*Op cit*, p 67) wonders what would have happened if Lear had taken up residence with Cordelia upon his retirement. This brings us into the region of a twice-removed fairyland, a dream-world known only to the supercharged imaginations of us pundits.

¹⁰*Op cit*, pp 200-203. It is interesting to note that in Brooke's last major work, his contribution to *A Literary History of England*, ed by A C Baugh, New York and London, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948, pp 313-696 (the galley proofs of which arrived at the time of his death), he states, "The 'continued allegory or dark conceit' . . . is one of the effective elements in its [*The Fairy Queen's*] rich texture, and is not to be ignored" (p 498). On the following page, however, the author returns to his "Allegory, forsooth!" business—a semantic confusion which will not lessen the students' perplexities.

¹¹*Op cit*, p. 59.

¹²It is manifestly impossible to discuss here every one of these studies. With regret I must resist the temptation to comment on Brooke's discussion of Shakespeare's acquaintance with social customs (pp 32-36), of Dover Wilson's interpretations of *Hamlet* (pp 115-120), of Joseph Quincy Adams's *Life* (pp 108-114), of Willobie's *Arria* (pp 167-178). Such comment, again, might easily turn into what Mr H L Mencken once termed "criticism of criticism of criticism."

¹³*Op cit*, pp. 179-197.

¹⁴*Op cit*, pp 93-102.

¹⁵*Op cit.*, pp 39-45.

¹⁶*Op cit*, pp 16-31.

¹⁷*Op cit.*, pp. 71-77.

¹⁸*Op cit*, pp 76-77.

¹⁹*Op cit*, pp. 121-144.

²⁰*Op cit*, p 132 (quoting from Raleigh's Letters, ed E Edwards, 1868, p 51).

²¹Reprinted in Edward Thompson, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, London, Macmillan, 1935, pp 206-7.

²²*Op cit.*, pp. 1-15.

²³*Op cit*, pp. 145-157.

²⁴Sir John Harrington, *Nugae Antiquae*, ed Thomas Park, London, 1804, vol I, pp 356-8.

²⁵*Op cit*, p 21.



ILLUSTRATION OF *Merchant of Venice*, NICHOLAS ROWE'S
EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS (1709)



THREE NOTES ON *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

BY NORMAN NATHAN

I

SHYLOCK AND SHULLOCK

THE origin of Shylock's name has eluded investigators. Suggested sources include the presence of a very few known Shylock's (as a surname) in England, as well as a Shurlock.¹ Another questionable claim is that the ballad of "Caleb Shillocke" (which may or may not post-date the *Merchant of Venice*) influenced Shakespeare's choice; but even this theory does not evidence the name's real origin.²

Many years ago Maurice Brodsky conjectured that Shakespeare came across a Latin translation of the *Pirké Avoth* and, from someone versed in Hebrew, heard the phrase *shelee shelee v'sheloch sheloch*, which would represent a man who stood on the letter of the law.³ Brodsky's conclusion is that *Shylock* could well be an Englishman's pronunciation of the Hebrew *Sheloch*.

Israel Gollancz likewise went to the Hebrew for his concept. "I am strongly inclined to explain the use of the name as due to the erroneous association of 'Shiloch' with 'Shallach,' the Biblical Hebrew for 'cormorant,' the bird that 'swoops,' or dives after its prey . . . In Elizabethan English 'cormorant' was an expressive synonym for 'usurer' . . ."⁴

There is yet another possible origin for *Shylock*. In the *Oxford English Dictionary* appears the entry:

Shu-lluck—*obs.*, exc. *dial.* In 7 schullock, 9 *dial.* shollock, shullock, [Of obscure origin: cf. *dial.* *shallock*, *shollock* vb., to idle about, to slouch.] Used as a term of contempt.

a 1603 T. Cartwright *Confut. Rhem. N. T.* (1618) 642 M. Calvin's great skill . . . could not without blushing be lacked of such shullockes and skipjacks as you be

Thus, the word *shullock* appears in Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan days in a variety of spellings and, most important of all, as a term of contempt.

Is it not possible that Shakespeare used this word for his *Shylock*? The difference in spelling is no greater than, if as great as, that demanded by either Brodsky's or Gollancz' suggestions.⁵ Besides, this conjecture does not involve a knowledge, at least vicarious, of Hebrew. And the meaning of *shullock* is surely as appropriate for Shylock as is that of the man who stands on the letter of the law or that of *cormorant* (*usurer*?).

But there is more than the similarity of sound and spelling as well as the fact that Shylock is felt to be contemptible by the Venetians to indicate that *shullock* is the source of the name.

Consider that, while the other important characters in the play are referred to in the stage directions and speaking cues by their proper names, Shylock is so designated fifty-one times and is referred to as *Jew* twenty-nine times.⁶ Perhaps both *Shylock* and *Jew* were used by Shakespeare as descriptive terms.

Note, too, that the actors speak the word *Shylock* (or forms of it) thirty times while they use the word *Jew* or *Jewes* fifty times in the specific sense of denoting the money-lender. It may be expected that Shylock would often be referred to by his religion, but consider when and by whom *Shylock* is used and when and by whom *Jew* is used.

There appears to be a purpose behind Shakespeare's use of the two designations. Tubal, a Jew and a friend of Shylock, does not call Shylock by name. This negative evidence is augmented by the fact that no one in Jessica's presence speaks the word *Shylock*. The normal reference in such circumstances would be *father*, unless Shakespeare wished to avoid stressing the relationship. Yet, the word used in Jessica's presence is *Jew*. Surely neither Lorenzo nor his friends would want to offend Jessica. Their saying *Jew* rather than

Shylock in her presence seems significant and may indicate that the latter term was contemptuous.

Characters likely to be respectful would be those who are servants or of a serving class. Lancelot and his father both use *Jew* in the more than fifteen times that they refer to Shylock. Lancelot's father, not recognizing his son, asks the way to the *Jewes* house. Evidently, this was sufficient designation for Shylock and the proper term to be used by an insignificant person when speaking to a supposed stranger. On one occasion Lancelot does say *Shylock*, but this is right after Bassanio himself has used the term.

Thus, with the one exception just given, throughout the play the use of *Shylock* is confined to the noble Venetians when they are not in the presence of Jessica. This, also, would indicate the possibility that *Shylock* was a term of contempt.

One other point may be stated. Cartwright, in the example mentioned above, used *schullockes* to refer to those who were not of the proper (Calvin's) religion. Is this not Shylock's status in relationship to those who call him by the name?

For these several reasons the writer presumes to think that the suggestion that *Shylock* is connected with *shullock* is more probable than any other suggestion heretofore given.

¹The evidence indicates that *Shylock* is a surname. Yet, other major characters in the play are referred to by forenames ending either in *o* or *a* according to sex. *Tubal* is an Old Testament forename. Why should Shakespeare have made an exception in the money-lender's case? Could it be that he did not consider *Shylock* to be either a forename or a surname but a descriptive term?

²*Notes and Queries*, CLXI (Dec. 26, 1931), 467. Brief notes by M. Hope Dodds, Wm. Jaggard, Fred Hitchen-Kemp, and A. J. H.

³*Notes and Queries*, XCIII (May 9, 1896), 362ff.

⁴*A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, "Some Observations on Shakespearian Names . . . 'Shylock' . . ." pp. 170-3.

⁵It is not necessary to assume that Shakespeare changed the *u* to *y* in naming the money-lender. Consider two words, *shall* and *shilling*, which have the same initial phonemes as *shullock*. *Shall*, as late as the fifteenth century, existed in a wide variety of mutations. More significant is *shilling* which, in the fifteenth century, shows spellings including *shillyng*, *schelyng*, *schulleng*, and *schullyng*. Cartwright's *schullockes* may be an old form of the word, or Shakespeare's *Shylock* (spelled *Shilock* on occasion in the third quarto) may be the way some persons actually pronounced the word.

⁶This counting is for the first folio. The first quarto uses *Shylock* sixty-one times and *Jew* nineteen times as far as stage directions and acting cues are concerned.

II

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE MERCHANT OF VENICE

"Shakespeare's anti-Semitic prejudice is clearly shown in the *Merchant of Venice*," writes Dr. Tannenbaum.¹ This contention is not new. The list of illustrious critics and ordinary citizens who believe likewise would be extensive.² On the other hand, there are those who hold that the play is really an appeal by Shakespeare for sympathetic understanding for those of the Jewish religion.³ Textual evidence supports neither view.

The fact that Shakespeare wrote a play in which one of the major characters happens to be an evil Jew is not the slightest proof of anti-Semitism any more than an appropriate selection of characters from *King Lear* would prove that Shakespeare was anti-English. So, too, no charge of bigotry can be leveled against the playwright because he may have agreed with the Venetians that lending money at interest was despicable. And there should be no objection that Shakespeare, having to make Shylock something, cast him as a Jew. Since many Jews, presumably because other means of livelihood were often barred to them, were money-lenders, why should Shakespeare have changed his source, *Il Pecorone*, in this particular?⁴

Also, there is no basis for the complaint that all of Shakespeare's Jewish characters are evil. Jessica, whose mother was Jewish (there is some doubt raised as to her paternity), disproves this contention. She is not, as Dr. Tannenbaum maintains, a "dishonest and disloyal father-hating minx." Every character who expresses himself about Jessica speaks well of her, except Shylock and possibly Tubal. If Shakespeare thought ill of Jessica, he must have thought ill of every Christian in the play. In that case, the whole charge of anti-Semitism would fall by the wayside.⁵

Likewise no evidence of anti-Semitism can be found in the punishment of Shylock. The law said that he, as an alien (not as a Jew) conspiring against the life of a Venetian, could be put to death and his money could be confiscated. Instead, he is given both his life and his money. Would anyone maintain that an anti-Semite

is so merciful towards a Jew or, in writing a play, is at all likely to advocate such generosity? The comparatively lenient punishment meted out to Shylock is, first, that he may not disinherit his daughter. His second burden is that he become a Christian. In view of Shylock's quick acceptance of this condition, it, too, was evidently no great punishment. Shylock is, after all, more worried about money than about religion. If he seems more intent upon the pound of flesh than thrice three thousand ducats, it should be recalled that Antonio has hindered him half a million. Thus, even the loss of nine thousand ducats, if it resulted in removing Antonio, might be a good financial investment. Shylock's real punishment, after which little else is important, is that Antonio is saved

The reader should not be misled by Shylock's many rhetorical complaints about his misfortunes. Although he often maintains that the Christians hate him because he is a Jew, only Lancelot and perhaps Gratiano give evidence of this.⁶ What in the actions or statements of the Christians justifies the famous "Hath not a Jew eyes?" The only harm Shylock has ever suffered, as far as the reader can discover, is that his usury has been frowned upon and he has been scorned because of it. In fact, both Antonio and Shylock appear to agree as to the basis of their mutual animosity. When Shylock refuses to show him mercy, Antonio says (III, iii, 25-8):

He seeks my life, his reason well I know,
I oft delivered from his forfeitures
Many that have at times made moan to me,
Therefore he hates me.

Shylock previously had spoken in a similar vein to Antonio (I, iii, 115-7):

You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine,
And all for use of that which is mine own.

Shylock's *all* gives him away. Even he appears to realize that what is objected to is not his religion but his avarice.

If the charge of anti-Semitism is to be substantiated, it cannot be done on the basis of plot, Shylock's punishment, or his complaints.

The important evidence, if it exists, must be the actual statements made by the Christian characters when speaking about Jews. The terms *Jew* and *Jewes* are used sixty-two times by Christians in the play. In all but eight instances, however, the reference is not to Jews as a group but to a specific Jew, usually Shylock, and on occasion Jessica or Tubal. Specific references to one person cannot prove critical of an entire group. If Shylock is called a harsh Jew, no one could deduce in all fairness that Shakespeare considered all Jews to be harsh. The proof of Shakespeare's anti-Semitic tendencies in this play must rest, therefore, on the eight instances in which the term *Jew* is used to refer to the group.

Four of the references may be quickly dismissed. Lancelot says, ". . . I am a Jew if I serve the Jew any longer" (II, ii, 106-7). Bassanio asks Lancelot if he is willing "To leave a rich Jewes service" (II, ii, 141). The former is merely a rhetorical way of saying that there is no possibility that Lancelot will remain with Shylock.⁷ The latter remark is purely descriptive.

Lancelot says to Jessica (II, v, 44-5):

There will come a Christian by,
Will be worth a Jewes eye.

This means either that the Christian will be worth seeing or that Lorenzo will be worth a Jew's ransom (a large sum of money).⁸

When Jessica is eloping with Lorenzo she tells him (II, vi, 56-7):

I will make fast the door and gild myself
With some more ducats, and be with you straight.

Gratiano, hearing this, says, "Now by my hood, a Gentile, and no Jew." Since Jessica is taking that which is not hers, this remark is hardly derogatory of one of the Jewish faith. It may be that Gratiano thinks he is paying her a compliment. This would prove some prejudice on his part, but surely he is not speaking for Shakespeare. The dramatist would not have considered Jessica's theft, even if it be excusable, as indicative of a Christian virtue.

Two other instances need hardly be mentioned if Dr. Tannenbaum had not said, "In this play the Jew is repeatedly likened to the devil and the devil to the Jew." A brief look at those passages in which *devil* appears (those in which Lancelot calls Shylock a devil may be excluded, since the reference is to Shylock alone) totally denies this contention. Salanio, seeing Shylock approach, says, "Let me say Amen betimes, lest the devil cross my prayer, for here he comes in the likeness of a Jew" (III, i, 19-20). Although Salanio likes neither the devil nor Shylock, he has said nothing against Jews.

Some lines later Salanio speaks in a similar vein when Tubal enters, "Here comes another of the Tribe, a third cannot be matched, unless the devil himself turn Jew" (III, i, 72-3). This literally means that there are no Jews as bad as Shylock and Tubal; and, in order to be able to find another so evil, it would be necessary to have the devil turn into a Jew. This is hardly praise of Jews, but it does demonstrate the important point that Shylock and Tubal are not considered typical Jews. Thus, although Shakespeare portrayed two evil Jews (and why should he not, since he did not hesitate to flay evil examples of his own countrymen?) he evidently did not regard them as types for an anti-Semitic attack.

There are, nevertheless, two instances of slurs in the play. Lancelot says, ". . . my Master's a verie Jew, give him a present, give him a halter, I am famished in his service" (II, ii, 100-1). Presumably, Lancelot thought that Jews were stingy. Grant that such a remark shows prejudice on the part of Lancelot. Still, is it fair to maintain that Shakespeare's sentiments concerning Jews should be based on the remark of a lazy servant who is often referred to in the acting cues as *Clown*? It is illuminating to note in this connection that most of the anti-Semitic remarks with which Dr. Tannenbaum charges Shakespeare in other plays come from the mouths of a weird sister, "the clown, Launce," "the stupid clown, Costard," and "the cowardly, rascally Falstaff." If this is the best evidence that can be offered, it is by no means fantastic to infer that Shakespeare felt, and is showing his audience, that anti-Semitic remarks are made only by stupid and inferior individuals.

In the eighth and last instance in the play where Jews are referred to as a group, Antonio says that it is useless to expect kindness from Shylock, for (IV, i, 83-5):

You may as well do anything most hard,
 As seek to soften that, than which what harder?
 His Jewish heart.

It may be logically deduced that Antonio here maintains that Jews are hard-hearted. And the evidence that Shakespeare is anti-Semitic reduces itself to the belief that this one remark, made by a comparatively estimable character, represents the author's point of view. Consider, however, that what Antonio says is a slur only by inference and could possibly not have been intended to mean that all Jewish hearts are hard. Consider, too, that this bitter remark is made by a man who is about to be legally murdered by a member of the Jewish religion. In view of this, is it not amazing that Shakespeare should have saved his anti-Semitic tendencies, if he had any, for one indirect and not too violent remark made by a man at a time of stress!¹⁰ Was the great Shakespeare, who could make his characters speak with such vitriol, likely to be negligent of opportunities in a play in which Jews could appropriately be referred to dozens of times?

Thus, it appears to the present writer that all the evidence in the play that Shakespeare was anti-Semitic must rest on one remark, the dramatic value of which to prove a thesis would be unworthy even of a Thomas Heywood.

To show just how innocuous Shakespeare's play is, it is necessary to go no further than the rival company's play which may have caused the writing of the *Merchant of Venice*. Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* demonstrates how simple it is to put intolerant phrases in the mouths of characters. Compare what Antonio says with the direct statement Ferneze makes near the end of the *Jew of Malta*, "Now, Selim, note the unhallowed deeds of Jews" (V, vi, 88). Some lines later, after Selim exclaims, "O monstrous treason!" Ferneze replies, "A Jew's courtesy" (V, vi, 104). Frankly, is there any remark or any sum of remarks in the *Merchant of Venice* even one tenth as anti-Semitic as either of these in Marlowe's play? It would appear that those who accuse Shakespeare of anti-Semitic tendencies must logically conclude that the master was either not able or unwilling to express himself clearly on this matter.

While the evidence that Shakespeare himself was bigoted seems, therefore, negligible, he may still be accused of capitalizing on the

anti-Semitic prejudices of his audience. Of this charge he cannot be fully absolved. Anti-Semitic literature was popular in Elizabethan times, and the success of the *Jew of Malta* as well as that of the *Merchant of Venice* must in part be attributed to the portrayal of a despicable Jew. Still, the less Shakespeare he if he had not been receptive to his audience. And, while he did consider their wishes, he did not pander to them. He was too imaginative an artist not to sense that one cannot indict a nation. Perhaps the trend of the play would have been different if Shakespeare could have argued by means of the modern concepts of heredity and environment, if the sociology of his day had been only as far advanced as to show, what now seems so obvious, that the kind of business a man engages in is not a trait inherited from his ancestors. The dramatist was, nevertheless, an enlightened man for his time. He cannot fairly be judged by twentieth century ideals.

One thing more. Those who maintain that the *Merchant of Venice* is anti-Semitic are leveling a charge not against Shakespeare but against the world. Intolerance and persecution have made many persons of the Jewish faith assume that, when the term *Jew* is applied to them by non-Jews, the connotation is unfavorable.¹¹ Until the time arrives when religious prejudice exists no more, there may always be those who will not feel at ease with the *Merchant of Venice* because Shylock is referred to by the purely descriptive term, *the Jew*.

* * * * *

The theses that *Shylock* signified contempt and that Shakespeare was not anti-Semitic tend mutually to support each other. If Shakespeare considered it desirable to call his money-lender by a contemptuous name, such as *Shylock*, it seems likely that *Jew* was not necessarily a term of contempt to the author's way of thinking. Likewise, if Shakespeare was not bigoted, he might well have wanted to call Shylock by a derogatory name and not use *Jew* in that manner.

¹¹SAB, XIX (January, 1944), 47.

¹²Phelps, William Lyon, ed., *The Yale Shakespeare The Merchant of Venice*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1923, p. 110

Silverman, Maurice, "Shylock—Shakespeare's Enigma," *Reflex*, IV (April, 1929), 60-9.

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Ward, Adolphus W., *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (2 vols.), Macmillan and Co., London, 1875, I, 188-92.

*Brown, Charles Armitage, *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems*, James Bohn, London, 1838, pp 275-82.

Hawkins, Frederick, "Shylock and Other Stage Jews," *The Theatre*, Nov 1, 1879, pp 191-8.

Packard, Maurice, *Shylock Not a Jew*, The Stratford Co., Boston, 1919

*M J Landa, whose excellent survey of the origin and development of the pound of flesh theme shows that the Jewish element was a later addition, is of the opinion about Shakespeare that, " he had no design of branding the Jews with a perpetual stigma " (*The Shylock Myth*, W H Allen and Co., London, 1942, p 44)

*Not only does Shakespeare fail to malign Jessica through his Christian characters, but the stage conventions of the time lead one to believe that the audience must have applauded her Playwrights frequently gave the harsh father a disobedient daughter And among these disobedient daughters are some of the most sympathetic women in all of the theatre Desdemona is a gem Juliet may be young and foolish, but she is not without charm Bel-imperia in the *Spanish Tragedy*, Mellida in *Antonio's Revenge*, and Sophonisba are not absolutely loyal to their fathers, yet, their actions seem justified in view of their predicaments And Margaret in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* is no kinder to Overreach than Jessica is to Shylock

The question is, would an Elizabethan audience feel that Jessica had good cause for her disobedience and her stealing, legally speaking, of her dowry? Shylock is stingy, therefore he deserves to lose money, Shylock wants to keep his daughter locked up from Christians, therefore it is fitting that he suffer his daughter's elopement with a Christian And when Shylock finds that he has lost both his daughter and some money, he wishes that she were hearsed at his feet with *the ducats in her coffin* To an Elizabethan audience Jessica had provocation and emerges as a sympathetic character Note, too, that in her conversations with Christians she does not vent her spleen against her father. She may not love him, but who could?

*Shakespeare does not cut all of his characters from the same cloth Only artificiality would have been served by keeping Lancelot and Gratiano on the high-minded level of Antonio Yet, if Lancelot and Gratiano can be called anti-Semitic, it is only on the basis of one remark apiece Significantly enough, they both think highly of Jessica

*Benedick uses the same kind of device when he says in *Much Ado*, "If I do not take pity of her, I am a villain, if I do not love her, I am a Jew" (II, iii, 271-2). Is there any proof of contempt here?

**Variorum The Merchant of Venice*, p 90, n. This remark of Lancelot's seems like prophecy, for after Shylock's trial it could truly be said that Lorenzo was worth a Jew's (Shylock's) ransom

*There are, in all, seven uses of the term *Jew* in Shakespeare's plays, if the *Merchant* is excluded Benedick's phrase, given above, is hardly proved bigotry. Flute, in *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*, says, "Most brisky juvenal, and eke most lovely Jew" (III, i,

97). Surely this is a pun. The five remaining uses indicate bigotry, but, before condemning Shakespeare, consider who speak them Launce (twice), Costard, Falstaff, and the third weird sister.

Shakespeare uses the term *Jewry* seven times, but never in an abusive way (four of these are *Herod of Jewry*). In *Richard II* Gaunt says (II, 1, 53-6):

Renowned . . .

As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry

Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son

Should a Jew feel slighted when called stubborn for not accepting a Christian belief?

¹⁰In an earlier scene Antonio says to Bassanio after Shylock has made his exit (I, iii, 183-4). "Hie thee gentle Jew This Hebrew will turn Christian, he grows kind" Let no one confuse Shakespeare's double-barreled pun with religious prejudice Not only is there the play on "Gentile-Jew," but Shylock had said previously, "This is kind I offer" Thus, Antonio is jesting on the word *kind*; that is, the Hebrew will turn Christian, he grows one of us

¹¹If the reader cannot rid himself of the feeling that bigotry pervades the *Merchant*, let him assume that Shylock was an Englishman among the Venetians, and for every use of *Jew* let him substitute *Englishman* Would such changes give the reader the impression that the author was anti-English? If not, then the conclusion may well be that bigotry exists only in the reader's interpretation of the play

III

ERVINE, SCHWARTZ, AND SHAKESPEARE

(1) *The Lady of Belmont*

IN the past quarter of a century, the *Merchant of Venice* has directly inspired the writing and producing of two full-length plays in England and the United States: St. John Ervine's *The Lady of Belmont* and Maurice Schwartz' dramatization, *Shylock and His Daughter*.¹ While these plays are far removed from each other (and from Shakespeare), both of them agree in one respect. Shylock is made the representative of a persecuted people, and the playwrights, through him, attempt to secure sympathy for the sufferings of Jews because of their religion. That is, Ervine and Schwartz want to do what they feel Shakespeare failed to do, present The Jew, state his case against the world, and render him justice.

Theirs is a precarious feat, since, in securing compassion for all Jews, they must not arouse prejudice against all Christians. Shakespeare, even if unconsciously, appears to have been guided by the principle that one cannot defend an entire group any more than one can indict it. Shylock's famous speech, although Jew is used as the symbol, can have but one meaning to an understanding reader—each man, whatever his group, is to be judged on his individual merits and demerits. In the opinion of this writer, that is the best possible attack against anti-Semitism. But Ervine and Schwartz have attempted something more.

The Lady of Belmont is written as a sequel to the *Merchant*, which Ervine considers an improbable play with a silly plot.² Ten years have elapsed and it is to be expected that the characters have changed somewhat. Unfortunately, Ervine's conception of the true natures of most of those in Shakespeare's play is unjustifiably low. In addition, their evil traits have been magnified and their good points abandoned so that Shylock may, by comparison, seem a much-abused person. The result is that *The Lady of Belmont* is filled with flat and vulgar characters whose baseness the playwright vainly tries to balance by a supposed glorification of Shylock.

Antonio, for example, becomes an old fool. According to Ervine he was originally pompous and priggish, and these qualities "are now lacking in the dignity which enabled him to carry off his grand signior ways in Venice" (p. 11). He browbeats the servant Balthasar (p. 13). He has, strangely enough, developed a trick of occasionally speaking short and repetitious phrases, a trick which he apparently acquired from Shakespeare's Shylock! The majority of his lines have some connection with reminding his auditors that ten years before he had almost lost a pound of flesh.

The Bassanio of the *Merchant* is completely one-sided as Ervine presents him. He emerges as a profligate, continually deceiving his wife and even preaching inconstancy to Jessica, his feminine objective of the moment (p. 77). He is a liberal liar, which he was not in the *Merchant*.⁴ Although in the trial scene Bassanio was the one man who wanted to pay a vanquished Shylock the three thousand ducats and was willing to give that sum to a disguised Portia in gratitude, he is represented by Ervine as dishonest and ungrateful.

Also, Ervine has forgotten that, while he fully appreciated the fact that marrying Portia would make him wealthy, he was not unmindful of her being "nothing undervalued / To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia" (I, i, 175-6).

Jessica "is still the mean little sweep she was when she ran away with Lorenzo"! (p. 42). Gratiano lacks Bassanio's assurance, but resembles him otherwise (p. 15). Nerissa is "now a matronly figure, but hardly so genial as she was in the *Merchant of Venice*" (p. 9). Lorenzo, according to Shylock, is "a foolish babbling fellow" (p. 93). Even Gobbo "has grown slyer in his ways . . . but he is still something of an amusing rogue" (p. 13).

Portia suffers least in this deliberate process of decay. Not only does she alone behave with perfect good manners towards Shylock, she actually is willing to offend her friends in order to give aid to him when, overcome with weariness, he arrives at her house. She is, however, a virtuous and long-suffering great lady of little individuality. No longer is she fun to be with. Gone are her sweetness of spirit, her forthrightness in love, and her ability to outwit Bassanio at a playful jest. Even the illusion of her wisdom, which Shakespeare so skillfully creates, is demolished when Portia admits that she imitated Bellario's handwriting and herself wrote the letter commending her to the Duke. One critic writes of Ervine, "It is no doubt part of his plan to empty of poetry one of the most spring-like of Shakespeare's plays."⁶ This depoeitization applies to the characters as well as to the language.

As a contrast to all this, Shylock should have been drawn on a vastly higher plane than that which he occupies in the *Merchant*. It is Ervine's intention to glorify his character. Shylock's grandson, not knowing who he is, calls him "kind" (p. 75). Portia has "seldom known a more honourable gentleman" (p. 85). Also, the shame of Shylock's willingness to renounce his religion is altered, for, though a Christian by christening and outer coverings, underneath he is a Jew. He says, "I keep our holy Sabbath in my heart." Then "he throws off his rich garment and reveals his Jewish gaberdine" (p. 69).

In changing the character of Shylock, however, Ervine has not succeeded in ennobling him very much if at all. Shylock's converting to Christianity and then remaining a Jew at heart are both understandable. The martyr need not die for his religion for the obvious reason that some martyrs must live in order to perpetuate that religion. It is foolish to condemn Shylock, as do many in the play, for his outward conversion. The history of persecution is too full of multitudes of various sects who practiced their rites in secret in order that their faith might survive at all.

Ervine, however, offers no proof that Shylock is more than an opportunist who wears his Judaism next to his skin in order to calm his conscience. Does Shylock suffer because of his conversion? Look at the evidence. Shylock once again is wealthy (how he lost his wealth is not made clear); but this wealth, as in the *Merchant*, is still not compensated for by a charitable hand. Shylock has become an intimate of the Duke who ordered his conversion. Shylock is now a senator, a member of a governing body that no doubt passes anti-Jewish laws.⁹

Shylock, therefore, appears to have only a casual feeling for the Judaism he claims to believe in. And he has other faults as well. He says that he loves his daughter dearly and that he has a passion for posterity. Yet, it took him ten years to decide to visit his daughter. Perhaps that is understandable. Not so is his failure to know the number of Jessica's children.

Moreover, he is hardly a truthful person. He finds Jessica with Bassanio. When they hear others coming, the two men hide just in time, for Portia and Lorenzo enter and accuse Jessica of having had a male visitor. Shylock reappears to say that he has been alone with her. Since he is here a father trying to protect his daughter, this lie could be forgiven him. However, a little later Portia catches a glimpse of Bassanio as he steals away. She asks Shylock why he denied that Bassanio was there and receives as an answer, "I thought to save you pain"! (p. 84). Shylock had just previously shown that his sense of honor was not of the best. He had promised Gobbo not to speak to his grandchildren. Yet, when young Lorenzo appears, Shylock remains to talk to him (pp. 72-3).

Thus, Shylock emerges as an opportunist and a wealthy, respected citizen who, once he has converted, suffers no rebuffs because of his Jewish origin until he comes to Belmont. There, he is in a nest of anti-Semites. Antonio says, "A Jew! God save us all, a Jew!" (p. 11). Bassanio says, "Honoured or not honoured, you're still a Jew to me, Shylock" (p. 39). Gratiano says, "God is wise and makes the best of His material. That which He loves, He makes into Christians. That which He dislikes, He makes into Jews" (p. 40). The latter two, plus Nerissa and others, agree to bait Shylock by having a mock trial based on the original one in Venice.

The effect of his reception at Belmont cannot arouse real sympathy for him. True, he is scorned by a fool (Antonio), a wastrel lecher (Bassanio), an ordinary lecher (Gratiano), a licentious daughter (Jessica), and a paid fool (Gobbo). Against this group of buffoons is the opinion of those who really matter. Portia, the only good person appearing in the play, praises Shylock; both noble and gentle Venetians (except those now at Belmont) think highly of him; and the ordinary Venetians respect him.

If Shylock has one complaint against his world, it is that he is forced to accept Christianity. The practical validity of this complaint can be judged by how much Shylock suffers because of his conversion. Ervine could have made this suffering real. If Shylock did something to help his fellow Jews, if he were presented at worship in a synagogue, or even if he were shown sincerely discussing his religious tribulations with another Jew, somehow the reader might be made to sense the reality of his religious feeling. But he remains a man with a theoretical complaint. Maybe the Venetians understood him better than he understood himself.

What does Shylock offer as a solution for anti-Semitism? He says, "We cannot go back, madam—we must go on and mingle with the world and lose ourselves in other men. I know that outward things pass and have no duration. There is nothing left but the goodness which a man performs" (p. 94). It seems, if the writer judges these words aright, that Shylock is in favor, perhaps not of conversion, but at least of a blending of Jews with non-Jews until the identity of his religion is lost. It seems that he is saying that Judaism and Christian-

ity are outward things and that nothing is of importance but good deeds.

Now, Ervine is surely entitled to his opinion. But to put such words in Shylock's mouth is to make Shylock a hypocrite. Let him do good deeds and stop worrying about the clothes he wears under his rich robe.

In attempting to arouse sympathy for persecuted Jews, Ervine has, if unconsciously, belittled Judaism by making so inferior an example as Shylock the representative of the group.⁷ The source of his error is perhaps traceable to a remark he made about Shylock, ". . . nor can I believe that so strict and devout a Jew would have accepted the final ignominy imposed upon him by the canting Antonio."⁸ A close reading of the *Merchant* fails to disclose that Shylock is *so strict and devout a Jew*. Grant that Shylock does not eat pork, but is there anything in the play to prove that Shylock is truly religious rather than merely ceremonial? Ervine's first basic error is that his play shows no comprehension of the principles of Judaism.⁹ For that matter, neither does the *Merchant*. But Shakespeare, who treated his characters as individuals, did not fall into Ervine's second error, that of making Shylock the representative of the group.

The Lady of Belmont, then, is a bad play. Its dialogue is witty and fast-moving, but neither profound nor consistent. The characters lack depth. The forced comparison with the *Merchant* makes the reader constantly aware of the inadequacies of the later play. And in attempting to ennoble Shylock and evoke sympathy for Jews Ervine is completely unconvincing.

(2) *Shylock and His Daughter*

Shylock and His Daughter, the more recent version of the *Merchant*, avoids one of Ervine's mistakes. Ibn Zahav's introduction to the English translation of the play shows that Schwartz did not make the fatal error of trying to improve Shakespeare. *Shylock and His Daughter* does not implicitly criticise Shakespeare's play as a play. Unfortunately, according to Ibn Zahav, Shakespeare knew little about Jews and consequently wrote a play that is, regardless of its

quality as drama, historically inaccurate. "It should finally be emphasized that Shylock's monologues, the wonderful statements which Shakespeare placed in his mouth, can be taken as indisputable proof that had Shakespeare scrutinized closely the life of the Sixteenth Century Jew in Italy, he would have given us a Shylock who could have served as eternal protest against the inquisition and persecution of Jews generally" (p. 8).¹⁰

Ibn Zahav's conjecture, like most conjectures about what Shakespeare would have done, seems wishful thinking. But it does reveal greater respect for the *Merchant* than Ervine shows. *Shylock and His Daughter* is not aimed at improving Shakespeare. It is merely an attempt to present a play, using similar characters and plot, that is historically more accurate than the *Merchant*, that is, the play that Shakespeare might have written (obviously in a dialogue infinitely finer) had he known more about Jews in Italy.

Shylock and His Daughter has some important points to make and clearly succeeds in this part of its purpose. The play contains propaganda, but there is nothing necessarily wrong with propaganda in so far as truth is not violated. Schwartz shows, first, that the Jewish religion is based largely on charity and kindness. Second, that Jews were engaged in usury because Christians of the time made other employment impossible for them. Third, that Jews were cruelly tortured for their religious beliefs. These statements can be accepted and, if Schwartz had gone no further, could probably be made to fit into a revised and laudable Shylock story.

Unlike the Shylock of Shakespeare and Ervine, Schwartz' money-lender is a sincerely religious Jew who can see the synagogue from his window. He is extremely charitable and concerns himself with the plight of his fellow Jews. Jessica is expected to learn both the teachings and the language of the Hebrews. Shylock's respect for the local rabbi is apparent. Mention of Jewish dishes and customs is woven into the dialogue.

Equally important is the fact that Shylock appears among Jews. Schwartz has added to the cast Rabbi Romano, Rabbi Nehemiah,

Samuel Morro, Dr. Klonymos, and a vastly changed Jessica and Tubal. All of these Jews are religious, all reverence charity, all respect learning. This does not mean that they are saints. Jessica disobeys her father and eventually becomes a Christian. Both Shylock and Morro, after Jessica's elopement, defy Rabbi Romano. Rabbi Romano, in his swift excommunication of Shylock and Morro, proves that he can be cruel as well as kind. Regardless of these human failings, the principles of Judaism are made apparent.

Jessica's character undergoes great change. She loves her father, but sighs for the freedom of the world outside the ghetto. She arranges to go to Rome to ransom Rabbi Nehemiah and other Jews. On the way back from this unsuccessful mission she visits Antonio's palace. Here she succumbs to luxury and consents to marry Lorenzo, whom she has loved for some time, and become a Christian. The last few lines of the play show that she repents, tries to be reaccepted by her people, and, being repulsed, commits suicide. Schwartz' Jessica is the only real Jewess in the three plays, and that is probably because her father is the only truly religious Shylock in these plays.

All this could have added up to a good play. Unfortunately, the dialogue is often poor (this may in part, and only in part, be due to the translator), melodrama is prevalent, and the author's own prejudice is apparent—all of which makes *Shylock and His Daughter*, as a play, inferior even to *The Lady of Belmont*.

Naturally, the purpose of dialogue is to give information. A skillful dramatist makes it seem, however, as if the speakers were totally unaware of any outside audience. Schwartz is something less than skillful when he has Antonio address Shylock in what amounts to a summary rather than conversation.

I want to help a friend of mine with three thousand ducats. As a matter of course, I would lend him the money gratis, without interest. But my vessels from Tripoli and India have been somewhat delayed. Therefore, I wish to borrow this sum from you—for which I shall seal a bond and pay interest at the usual rates which Jewish bankers charge their Christian borrowers. (p. 67)

Note, too, that the dialogue is not always in character.

Antonio: . . . Many a time I have helped strangers by lending them money gratis.

Shylock: With intent to rob Jews of their crust of bread.

Antonio: True. And I would do that yet again, had not my vessels been so long delayed. (p. 69)

Would Antonio, who hates usury, have agreed that his main purpose was *to rob Jews of their crust of bread*? This is Schwartz speaking, not Antonio.

Portia says to Antonio,

Often a feeling of pity arises within me for these unfortunates who have driven away from amongst them the Son of God, Him whom you resemble even as a twin brother. When I gaze at His carved lips, I think of yours . . . (*They stand as if frozen in ecstasy . . .*) (p. 41)

This is not merely out of character; it is in such poor taste as to repel the reader

Morro says,

(*From behind door.*) Father, in God's name, open the door. (*Shylock pays no heed.*) Father, open the door, or I shall immediately return to Ancona! (*Shylock, frightened, opens door. Morro enters.*) (p. 119)

That the play is largely melodrama can be seen not only from the above snatches of dialogue. The stage directions are further proof. On page 143 there is written about Shylock, "He has become old, bent and wizened in the intervening three days; he can barely stand on his legs." On page 145 are two gems: Shylock "speaks in measureless pain"; "Suddenly, in the small prison-window, the head of Samuel Morro appears. His face expresses exalted pain."

The most serious charge against the play, however, is that of the author's prejudice. Schwartz is not writing a romantic comedy. Presumably he is writing about life with what he hopes is historical accuracy. Therefore, it is disturbing to discover that no Christian in the play is demonstrably a good man compared with any of the Jewish characters. It is understandable, in days when religious prejudice was saturated through society, that Christians and Jews did not like each other. But, the play presents an unfair picture in going beyond this general intolerance. Half the Christians in the play will accept bribes or ransoms; no Jew will. No Christian seems to see any wrong in physically torturing Jews even until death. Portia admits to a feeling of pity towards Jews, yet she can say to Antonio when he speaks of his hatred for them, "This slight fault in you, my dear, can well be forgiven, since the entire world feels the same toward them" (p. 41). Launcelot and Salanio, who speak with some sympathy for Jews, are yet bribe-takers and can bite the hand that feeds them. Of course, an author has the right to select his characters (though some have denied this right to Shakespeare in the *Merchant*). The point is, however, does Schwartz select evil Christians because he wants to portray evils, or does he select them because he wants to prove that in the sixteenth century Jews were superior to non-Jews? There is evidence to show that the latter is the author's intention. He has not been content to say that goodness and badness are matters of individuals rather than of adherents to a particular religion. For the assumption in the play is not the fact that Judaism condemns the shedding of blood, but the fallacious concept that no one professing Judaism can shed blood!

Ibn Zahav, in introducing the play, writes, "Shylock *demanded* vengeance but he did not *take* it, because he was a Jew; and there is no single instance in the entire long history of the Jewish people of an elderly Jew taking another man's life" (p. 8). That this is the attitude of the play can be evidenced by two sentences Shylock speaks almost as the final curtain falls, "I cannot shed blood. I am a Jew!" (p. 145). One feels that Ibn Zahav did not look very hard to find his single instance. He had to go only to the *First Book of Samuel*, for Samuel "hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal" (15: 33). Samuel had previously called himself an old man (12:2). It is needless to multiply instances to demolish so prejudiced a viewpoint.

The plot of *Shylock and His Daughter* could have been good except for the implications mentioned above. Bassanio has been omitted. Antonio, the merchant, is the husband of Portia. Lorenzo, in order to bribe Shylock's servants and the gatekeepers of the ghetto, has Antonio borrow from Shylock three thousand ducats which he will use to rescue Jessica. Antonio willingly lends the money because he feels that it will result in a worthy end—the conversion of a Jewess. It is Antonio who insists upon the pound of flesh in the bond. At the trial, Shylock offers to release Antonio if Jessica will be returned to him. But that would mean her renouncing Christianity, and Antonio replies, "I would not be able to expiate a sin like this through a thousand Infernos. I *will* not have her return to the Jewish faith" (p. 141). Thus, Antonio emerges as strongly steeped in the sanctity of Christianity as Shylock is in Judaism. Here, it would seem, the dramatist could have drawn the obvious conclusion that, regardless of our religious beliefs, we are all creatures of the same God, and that it ill-behooves any of us to sneer at the rest of us. But no! Shylock, even in his renouncing of vengeance, does so not because vengeance is wrong but because a Jew cannot shed blood.

Thus, both Schwartz and Ervine, in attempting to present Jews more favorably in a play than does Shakespeare, actually do Jews a disservice. Ervine's representative Jew is an opportunist and a hypocrite. Schwartz' representative Jew is a bigot who thinks that there is no one quite like him. Shakespeare, who knew Jews for the simple reason that he knew human beings, draws not a type but an individual. The result is that the evils which both Christians and Jews perform are castigated, but Christianity and Judaism remain unscathed.

Twentieth century versions of the *Merchant* make it apparent that Shakespeare, by failing to take sides, does more justice to Jews than the presumed defenses of Ervine and Schwartz. After all, neither Ervine nor (most assuredly) Schwartz can write like Shakespeare;

for Shakespeare, the supreme creator of character, realized that each man must be judged on his own merits.

The City College, New York

¹Ervine, St John, *The Lady of Belmont*. Macmillan, New York, 1931 (first published in 1923)

Schwartz, Maurice, *Shylock and His Daughters* (English translation by Abraham Reelson) Yiddish Art Theatre, New York, 1947 The play is based on a Hebrew novel by Ari Ibn Zahav *Jessica, My Daughter*, Julian Melzer's English translation of this novel, has just been published in New York by Crown Publishers

²Ervine, St John, *How to Write a Play*. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1928, pp 42 and 92

³For example, on page twelve Antonio says, among other things, " . . . I should lose a pound of flesh—flesh, mark you!—to be cut off by him nearest my heart . . . A pound of flesh! Nearest my heart! Here! This very spot! I'll show it to you! Well, then, you shall not see it . . . that's ingratitude, Nerissa, gross ingratitude . . . but to fail his friend—and such a friend!—no, no, that's ingratitude!" At the beginning of the next page Antonio says, "Good evening, good evening!"

⁴Arial, J M, "In Defense of Bassanio," *SAB*, XVI (1941), 25-8.

⁵*The Observer* (London), Jan 20, 1924, p 4

⁶That the Venetian Senate does pass anti-Jewish laws cannot be denied Shylock says, "I am a citizen of Venice now, and not an alien Jew any more I'm free to go and come as I please and wear what garments take my fancy" (p 38).

⁷It can be shown that Shylock is considered representative by Ervine From the quotations given above, it is evident that the anti-Semites in the play consider not his individuality but the fact that he is a Jew as his prime characteristic Shylock himself speaks as if he were typical Even Portia can say to this Venetian Senator, "You have no roots. Your race is shallow in its growth" (p 94)

⁸Ervine, St. John, "The Realistic Test in Drama," *Yale Review*, XI (1922), 297.

⁹In fact, he makes a mistake as far as ceremony is concerned Shylock, learning that his grandsons are named Lorenzo, Antonio, and Bassanio, says to Jessica, "Did you forget my name?" (p. 44). The orthodox Hebrew tradition forbids naming a child for a living person

¹⁰Both Ervine and Ibn Zahav seem reluctant to admit that Shakespeare may have preferred to make the *MERCHANT* a romantic comedy rather than what today would be called a problem play.



SHYLOCK'S HUMOUR

BY DAVID H. BISHOP

IT IS THE purpose of this discussion to state the view that the speech of Shylock in reply to the Duke (*The Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 35-62),¹ before the entrance of Portia, reveals a higher level of seriousness than has been attributed to him by most commentators. I shall hold that a different interpretation from that generally accepted is better suited to Shylock's situation and character. An associated purpose, to be subjoined, will be to point out that Shakespeare's definition of the term *humour* is substantially equivalent to the definition Ben Jonson elaborated, several years later than Shakespeare's, in a striking passage in the "Induction" to *Every Man Out of his Humour*.

The Duke has appealed to Shylock's "mercy" and "remorse" (pity), to his "human gentleness and love"; and, as Shylock tells us, the Duke had asked why he would

rather choose to have
A weight of carrion flesh than to receive
Three thousand ducats. (40-42)

Shylock replies, "I'll not answer that; But say it is my humour." He then adds instances of the singular humours of men that lead to unaccountable actions. The instances are simple, even trifling as incidents; but they serve to show inexplicable actions that are illustrations of humours such as his own intended action may seem. "Some men," Shylock says, "love not a gaping pig"; others "are mad if they behold a cat"; and others "when the bagpipe sings i' th' nose, Cannot contain their urine." He continues, "As there is no firm reason to be rend'red" why men are controlled by such affections,

So can I give no reason, nor I will not,
More than a lodg'd hate, and a certain loathing
I bear Antonio, that I follow thus
A losing suit against him. Are you answer'd?
(59-62)

Shylock has made the point that "mercy," "remorse," "human gentleness," are beside the question; nor is his bitter hatred of Antonio, frankly admitted in strongest terms, essentially relevant. The sum of the whole matter, as he is to say a few minutes later, is that

The pound of flesh which I demand of him
Is dearly bought; 'tis mine and I will have it.
(99-100)

And because it is his humour, he will take it. He is sure he is legally entitled to the pound of flesh; in fact, it will presently appear that "the law allows it."

The key to Shylock's mind as he approaches the trial is to be found in the sense of the word *humour* as Shylock intends it to be understood. To settle on its meaning is to understand his attitude and action as the trial opens. The extensive use of the term in Elizabethan literature is a commonplace of knowledge to readers of the contemporary drama. There are two distinguishable uses of the word, each of historic standing. There is what we should regard as the primary sense derived directly from the mediæval conception of the four physiological humours, as fixed in psychology as in physiology and therefore indicating a fixation in character; there is the other, a secondary sense, expressing whim, caprice, crochets, and thereby tending towards an opposite meaning to the primary sense of the word. An examination of twelve editions of the play, in standard editions of Shakespeare's complete works or in college-texts edited by scholars of distinction, reveals that eight editors take note of the word. Without exception it is interpreted in the secondary sense as above defined.² With due respect for such an accumulation of opinions, it is insisted here that the essentially different meaning in the primary sense of *humour* is intended. It does appear that Shakespeare more frequently used *humour* as equivalent to the terms used by the editors in this instance; but there are clear instances of his employing the concept

of humour as a fixed and mastering factor in character, predetermined by birth or nature.³

In the passage here considered it appears that Shylock has himself defined his meaning by the explaining assertion

for affection
Master of passion, sways it to the mood
Of what it likes or loathes.⁴ (50-52)

It seems clear that *affection*, with its attributive phrase *master of passion*, is used as a synonym of *humour*, apparently felt as a stronger word that re-enforces the sense of the antecedent term. The definitions of *affection* by the commentators, as it occurs in this context, hardly seem adequate. It is defined as "sympathy," "natural instinct," "feeling, one's likes and dislikes," "an impulse of any kind," "emotion produced through the senses by external objects," "mental state or inclination," "whim." There seems a degree of tautology occasioned by supplying such terms—the iteration of the subject in the predicate; and the force of the attributive phrase is lost. It seems rather pale comment by Shylock if we understand him to say that *sympathy* or *feeling* or *inclination*, and so like, "sways it [passion] to the mood Of what it likes or loathes." *Affection*, let us say then, is not in the category of the words offered as its equivalents. To understand the force of the word, as Shylock uses it, we must press beyond the area in which such emotions lie. I conceive of it here as expressing an originating power that assumes the nature of a faculty of the mind that may contend against and annul reason. Shylock would tell the Duke that the power which controls his conduct is a basic element in character for which no explanation need be, or can be, offered.

Among the senses of *affection*, or *affections*, found in Elizabethan English (more varied than in later periods) there are illustrations in Shakespeare of a usage, now obsolete, that definitely expresses the sense and force that is applicable to Shylock's use here. Malcolm (when he is misleading Macduff to test him) says "there grows in my most ill-composed affection such A stanchless avarice that, were I King, I should cut off the nobles for their lands" (*Macbeth*, IV, iii, 77-80). Antony: "My sword, made weak by my affection, would Obey it on all cause" (*A and C*, III, xi, 67, 68). Brutus: "to speak

truth of Caesar, I have not known when his affections swayed More than his reason." (JC, II, i, 19-21).⁵

The view here given of Shylock's state of mind, based on one accepted sense of his word *humour*, illustrated by Shakespeare's use in other situations, and on Shylock's forceful explanation of his meaning, seems at least tenable. But it is further suggested now that the fairly opposite meanings of *humour* and of *affection* that have been accepted by the commentators are dramatically unsuited to Shylock's character and the situation in which he would place himself by the language attributed to him. On the stage, of course, Shylock is at the mercy of the actor, and his atrocious purpose may obliterate for the reader all regard for his force of character; but as Shakespeare gives him speech he stands above all other characters in the play in intellectual competence, not to say intellectual dignity—not forgetting Portia's lovely "quality of mercy" lines. In conflict with his antagonists he is not trivial; they are so; and even Antonio is inadequate and self-condemned in the scene that first brings the two together. It therefore appears inappropriate and dramatically a weakening of the situation to conceive that Shylock is needlessly impudent and offensive, as he would be if he asserted that it is his whim to have his pound of flesh. "I stand here for law" is his reply to Gratiano's vehement denunciation. The gravity of his intention does not admit of understanding that he would to no purpose offend the Duke, whom he had addressed with dignity at the opening of his speech.⁶

The viciousness of Shylock's purpose is emphasized by the trivial illustrations he offers; and that, possibly, is one dramatic intention of the author. But these serve another more important purpose. Resting his case wholly on the legality of the bond, Shylock has driven home the point that you can not question the conduct of men who, controlled by their humours, act without free will or reason. This is his complete explanation. His sincerity may be questioned, but that question is not essential; the Duke, and an Elizabethan audience as well, will understand that his intention is unalterable. More probably the Elizabethan mind could accept Shylock's case as an illustration of the foreordained nature of Man's life.

Turning away from Shylock, but not away from the passage discussed or from Shakespeare, we find in the lines specially considered

a significance that should be of interest to students of the Elizabethan drama. If the conception of *affection*, synonymous with humour, as a mastering power in a person, is accepted, it will appear that Shakespeare has preceded by several years Ben Jonson's definition of "humour" in the five classic lines spoken by Asper in the "Induction" to *Every Man Out of His Humour* (105-109). Asper's speech may be recognized as an elaboration of the concept in the two lines of critical importance in Shylock's speech to which special attention has been directed. Asper has set forth in an extended passage the physiological conception of the four humours (88-102); he then continues to the main point:

Now thus farre
It may, by Metaphore, apply itself
Unto the general disposition:
As when some one peculiar qualitie
Doth so possesse a man, that it doth draw
All his *affects*, his spirits, and his powers,
In their confluxions, all to run one way,
This may be truly said to be a Humour.⁷
(102-109)

The whole passage in which Jonson is explicating Humour extends over forty-eight lines (75-122); but in five lines, the climax of the whole, he has expressed, it seems, the concept with which we have dealt in Shylock's speech.

"A harmless necessary cat"

As a pendent to the consideration of Shylock's state of mind at the opening of the trial, the "harmless necessary cat" invites comment.

Interesting and rather extended comments are generally made on the "woollen bagpipe" and the "gaping pig"; but the "necessary cat" is passed by, except for citations from writers other than Shakespeare to similar instances of unreasonable aversion to cats. An exception to this disregard of the cat is found in the observations of H. L. Withers (Arden ed. 1905, p. 100)—not on the sense of the phrase but on a certain witchery found in it: "The phrase," comments Withers, "is one of those which, for some subtle reason, stick in

people's memory, and enter into language so fully as to be used constantly by folks who could not say where they come from."

Admitting the fascinating quality of the phrase, one is led into inquiry to discover a more interesting meaning than that which, seemingly, has been made of it. Ask a man in the street—a street of course frequented by readers and students of Shakespeare,—what does Shylock mean by *necessary*. One will answer for all: "The meaning is obvious; a cat is necessary to catch rats and mice." This leaves the "subtle" phrase rather flat; and the statement is incorrect. A cat is *useful* for catching rats and mice, not necessary for that purpose.

Considering the phrase in connection with Shylock's philosophy of the fixedness of things, underlying his entire speech, one arrives at a meaning that coördinates it with the other humours. The woollen bagpipe, a creation of man, is made as bagpipes are properly made; a gaping pig served at a feast is rightly what it appears, as shaped by nature and man; and a cat is a cat by nature, created to be a cat, of necessity a cat. A definition in N. E. D. among the given historic meanings of *necessary* supports this understanding. Two general senses, specialized into varying shades of application under each, are there distinguished: one contains the idea of *indispensable*; the other the idea of *inevitable*. Among the definitions in the latter group one seems exactly applicable to Shylock's use of the word: "Inevitably determined or fixed by predestination or the operation of natural laws; happening or existing by an inherent necessity." If one dares say so, the language thus takes on a Shakespearean quality illustrative of the writer's power to compress into a word a concept that might have filled a sentence.

University of Mississippi

¹Citations throughout refer to W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill's ed., *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, 1942.

²Cf. F. E. Schelling (1903), "whim"; Hardin Craig (1931), "whim, caprice,"; Tucker Brooke (1935), "'it is merely my humour'"; T. M. Parrott (1938), "whim"; W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill (1942), "whim"; G. L. Kittredge (1945), "whim, caprice"; the *New Hudson* ed (ed and rev. by E. C. Black and A. J. George, 1906) does not accept Shylock's statement as a declaration, but as a hypothetical question; H. L. Withers (Arden ed., 1905), "The word contains a reference to the strange physiological theories of the Middle Ages" (We remain uncertain as to Withers's interpretation until we reach the word *affection* [below, 1. 50], a word to be considered presently.)

"Cassius refers to "that rash humour which my mother gave me" (*J C*, IV, iii, 120), the motivating idea of the *Taming of the Shrew* is Petruchio's intention "to curb her [Katherine's] mad and headstrong humour" (IV, I, 212, Petruchio transforms what is accepted as the intrinsic nature of the Shrew to the character of the docile wife); Henry VI declares of York that an "ambitious humour Makes him oppose himself against his king" (*H VI (II)*, V, i, 133-34). There are further instances where it is difficult to say whether the constant or whimsical sense of the word should be understood.

"The lines present textual difficulties, but this note will not proceed further than to recognize them (The Furness *Variorum* ed gives three pages to their consideration) The primary texts (*Q*₁, *Q*₂, and *F*₁) print identical lines (50-52), with only slightest variation.

Cannot containe their urine for affection

Masters (*Maisters*, *Q*₂) of passion swayes it to the moode

Of what it likes or loathes

The critical matter is one of punctuation There is now general agreement that the period after *affection* should be replaced by a comma, that a colon or semicolon should be inserted after *urine* and a comma inserted after *passion* The plural form *Masters* illustrates not unusual instances of the incorrect occurrence of a final *s* added to singular nouns in early Shakespeare texts

It seems in place to mention only one difficulty that faces us, in our discussion, if we accept the early texts without emendation If the period after *affection* were retained, the emphasis given that word as a synonym of *humour* in the argument now following would be brought into question, since the reference would then apply only to the bagpipe aversion

*For further illustrations, cf *L L L*, I, i, 152, *W T*, IV, iv, 491, and V, ii, 40, *M for M*, II, iv, 168

The *N. E. D* defines as an obsolete meaning "feeling as opposed to reason," with illustrations from Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, II, iv, 34 "Most wretched man, that to Affections does the bridle lend", Milton, "Sovereigne Salve 25, 'A will overruled by enormous affections or passions'"

The meaning of the word in these illustrations suggests that Shakespeare has a feeling for one exact sense in its Latin origin from *adfectio*, as in Cicero, *Tusculanae Virtus est adfectio animi constans convenientisque*.

*Without too much emphasis on the idea (in a romantic comedy that, as it is, is threatened with disunity), Shakespeare has suggested a philosophy of stoical fatalism in Shylock, that is revealed again finally in his calm submission as he leaves the stage.

**affects*: compare Shylock's *affection* It is interesting to note, and to the point in connection with illustrations of conventional definitions of Shylock's Humour, that Asper continues from the lines quoted to express a satiric contempt for the misuse of the word as applied to fads or whims (110-114)



A NOTE ON DANIEL

BY JOHNSTONE PARR

THE paper of Mr. Cyrus H. Gordon entitled "A Daniel Come to Judgment,"¹ concerning itself with Shylock's well known allusion to Daniel in *The Merchant of Venice* (IV. 1.), has evoked much comment concerning the identity of the Daniel to whom Shakespeare referred.² Mr. Hannigan insists that Shylock had in mind the Daniel of the canonical *Book of Daniel* rather than of the apocryphal *History of Susanna and the Elders*. Mr. Withington, in turn, insists (along with almost all editors of the play) that the reference is to the Daniel in the apocryphal *History of Susanna*. As an addendum to Mr. Withington's principal argument (that the story of Daniel, Susanna, and the Elders must have been a well known one to Shakespeare's audiences), I wish to point out a fact that seems to have escaped all those interested in the topic. Mr. Withington suggests that the Elizabethan audience had been long familiar with the story of Susanna in art—that it had been a popular subject or theme with Renaissance painters. I wish to cite two instances of the story in Elizabethan *print*—that is, in purely literary expositions rather than in the account found in such editions of the apocryphal writings as were disseminated.

In 1578 Hugh Jackson issued from his shop in Fleetstreet a booklet entitled *The Commodity of the moste vertuous and Godlye Susanna*, which he ascribed as being "compiled" by one Thomas Garter.³ *The Commodity* is a 43-page play, the substance of which is the story of the virtuous Susanna and the iniquitous Elders as set forth in the *Apocrypha*. Six years later, in 1584, the story appeared in print again, in the form of a didactic short-story by Robert Greene,

who entitled his 40-page pamphlet *The Myrrour of Modestie* and rendered the story "more largelie then it is written among the Apocripha" by padding the simple narrative of the Apocryphal account with an abundance of the then-popular Euphuistic trappings.⁴ Certainly by the time Shakespeare wrote *The Merchant of Venice* the apocryphal story had been bandied about enough for an Elizabethan audience to appreciate his allusion, whether especially appropriate in the mouth of Shylock or not.

University of Alabama

⁴*SAB*, XV (October, 1940), 206-209

⁵See John E. Hannigan, "Which Daniel," *SAB*, XVI (1941), 63-64; Robert Withington, "A Second Daniel," *ibid.*, 123-124; Hannigan, *ibid.*, 190-192, Withington, *ibid.*, 256.

⁶Reprinted in *Malone Society Reprints* in 1936.

⁷I cite from the Huntington Library copy.



PRODUCTIONS OF *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

BY ARTHUR HEINE AND LAURIE SCHWAB STRAUSS

FOLLOWING is a summary of professional productions of *The Merchant of Venice* in the United States and England during the last eighteen years. It will be noticed that, while productions have been comparatively frequent in London in the last few years, they have been extremely limited in number in the U. S. This may be explained in large measure by the current feeling that the play tends to fan the flame of anti-Semitism, whether or not such was the intent of the playwright. (The play was banned from the Odense Theatre in Copenhagen for such reasons in 1938.)

1930—Times Square Theatre, New York—Maurice Moscovitch as Shylock, Selena Royle as Portia.

(This production went on tour, appearing also at the Tremont Theatre in Boston with the same cast.)

Columbia Theatre, San Francisco—William Thornton as Shylock.

Ambassador Theatre, New York—Fritz Leiber as Shylock.
(This production of the Chicago Civil Shakespeare Society went on tour, appearing in Chicago and Poli's Theatre, Washington, D. C.)

Embassy Theatre, London.

(In this year the play was also produced in Teheran Persia.)

1931—Royale Theatre, New York—Fritz Leiber as Shylock, Helen Menken as Portia.

(This was again a production of the Chicago Shakespeare Soc.)

Ohio Theatre, Cleveland—Otis Skinner as Shylock, Maud Adams as Portia.

(This was Maud Adams' return to the stage after years of absence. She took the play on tour, coming to San Francisco, Buffalo, Newark, N. J., Chicago and many other places.)

Trouper's Green Room, Hollywood, Cal.

1932—Old Vic, London—John Gielgud directing Malcolm Keen as Shylock, Peggy Ashcroft as Portia.

St. James Theatre, London—Ernest Milton as Shylock, Mary Newcomb as Portia.

Shakespeare Theatre Company, New York—Ian Maclaren as Shylock, Carolyn Farriday as Portia.

Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon.

1934—Alhambra Theatre, London — Franklin Dyll as Shylock, Marie Ney as Portia.

(In 1934 M. Reinhardt presented *The Merchant of Venice* in Venice.)

1935—Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith—Arthur Phillips as Shylock. Croydon Repertory Theatre.

1937—Federal Theatre presented the play with Estelle Winwood as Portia, Gareth Hughes as Shylock—Mason Theatre and Greek Open Air Theatre in Los Angeles.

Hollywood Playhouse, Hollywood.

1938—Queen's Theatre, London—John Gielgud as Shylock, Peggy Ashcroft as Portia.

Erlanger Theatre, Chicago—Helen Hayes as Portia, Abraham Sofaer as Shylock.

(Plans were made to bring this production to N. Y., but were apparently dropped. The run in Chicago was scheduled for only three performances. Helen Hayes brought it also to San Francisco, and Southern Cal.)

Dublin Gate Theatre, Dublin.

1940—Kingsway Theatre, London — Donald Wolfit as Shylock, Rosalind Fuller as Portia.

1941—Pasadena Playhouse, Pasadena — (presented followed by *The Lady of Belmont* by St. John Ervine.)

1942—Westminster Theatre, London—Robert Atkins as Shylock, Adele Dixon as Portia.

1943—New Theatre, London.

Pasadena Playhouse—John Carradine, under the sponsorship of the Playhouse, gave a Shakespearean repertory including this play in San Francisco and Southern California.

1944—Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon.

1946—Yiddish version presented in London.

1947—Century Theatre, New York—Donald Wolfit as Shylock, Rosalind Iden as Portia.

(Presented as a part of Wolfit's Shakespeare repertory.)

1948—Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon—Robert Helpmann as Shylock.

THE SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL THEATRE

Directed by

SIR BARRY JACKSON

for the Governors

Manager and Licensee : **GEORGE A. HUMB**

The Merchant of Venice

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Characters in order of their appearance :

ANTONIO, <i>a Merchant of Venice</i> ...	...	NOEL WILLMAN
SALARINO } <i>Friends to Antonio</i> { ...	...	PAUL HARDWICK
SALANIO } <i>and Bassanio</i> { ...	...	DOUGLAS WILMER
BASSANIO, <i>Friend to Antonio, in love with</i> <i>Portia</i> ...	...	PAUL SCOFIELD
LORENZO } <i>Friends to</i> { ...	...	JOHN JUSTIN
GRATIANO } <i>Bassanio</i> { ...	...	ESMOND KNIGHT
PORTIA, <i>a rich Heiress</i> ...	...	DIANA WYNYARD
NERISSA, <i>her Waiting Maid</i> ...	...	MAIRHI RUSSELL
BALTHAZAR } <i>Servants to</i> { ...	...	MICHAEL BATES
STEPHANO } <i>Portia</i> { ...	...	WILLIAM SQUIRE
SHYLOCK, <i>a rich Jew</i> ...	...	ROBERT HELPMANN
THE PRINCE OF MOROCCO ...	...	MICHAEL GODFREY
LAUNCELOT GOBBO, <i>Servant to Shylock</i> ...	...	ALFIE BASS
OLD GOBBO ...	...	JULIAN AMYES
LEONARDO, <i>Servant to Bassanio</i> ...	...	TOM KNEALE
JESSICA, <i>daughter to Shylock</i> ...	...	HEATHER STANNARD
THE PRINCE OF ARRAGON ...	...	JOHN KIDD
TUBAL, <i>a Jew, friend to Shylock</i> ...	...	ARNOLD DIAMOND
THE DUKE OF VENICE ...	...	WILLIAM MONK
<i>Magnificoes, Masquers, Attendants :</i> CLARE BLOOM, JEAN FOX, ELIZABETH MELVILLE, ALEXANDER DAVION, ALAN DIPPER, KEITH HERRINGTON, NORMAN MITCHELL, EDMUND PURDOM, JOHN VAN EYSEN, CLIFFORD WILLIAMS, DAVID WROB.		

PRODUCTION BY MICHAEL BENTHALL

THE SCENE IS SET PARTLY AT VENICE AND PARTLY AT BELMONT.

THE PLAY WILL BE GIVEN IN THREE PARTS WITH TWO INTERVALS OF
TEN MINUTES EACH.

THE CURTAIN FALLS AT APPROXIMATELY 10.10 P.M.

<i>Scenery and Costumes</i>	...	...	...	SOPHIE FEDOROVITCH
<i>Incidental Music</i>	...	...	...	... BRIAN EASDALE

Music and Effects in this Production selected from the Soundisc Library, London. The Scenery built by FRED JENKINS in the Theatre Workshops and Painted by REG. SAYLE. Properties made by EDWARD BLATCH. Costumes by WILLIAM CHAPPELL, LTD., and by ROSEMARY VERCOR in the Theatre Productions Wardrobe. Wigs by GUSTAVE. Miss Wynyard's Wig by FLORENCE WILLIAMS. Shoes by ANNELLO and DAVIDE. Sound Installation by DECCA.

<i>Music Adviser</i>	...	...	...	...	LESLIE BRIDGEWATER
<i>Productions Manager</i>	...	...	...	H. NANCY BURMAN	
<i>Resident Stage Manager</i>	...	...	...	DESMOND HALL	
<i>Stage Managers</i>	...	...	...	JULIA WOOTTEN	
				ROBERT GASTON	
<i>Assistant Stage Managers</i>	...	...	...	ELIZABETH LATHAM	
				MOOREA HASTINGS	
				COLIN HUNTER	
<i>Costume Supervision</i>	...	...	...	KEGAN SMITH	

The above is a facsimile of the playbill of the Shakespeare Memorial Theater, Stratford-on-Avon, where on the occasion of the Shakespeare Festival of 1948, Robert Helpmann appeared as Shylock and Diana Wynyard as Portia. Production was under Michael Benthall.



PATTERNS OF TEMPO IN SHAKESPEARE'S *TIMON*

BY JOHN W. DRAPER

PERHAPS the most of all Shakespeare's dramas, *Timon of Athens* bears the marks of a problem-play: it has the generalized setting that the demonstration of a thesis requires, an unhistoric Athens of here and everywhere; the plot is governed, less by the wills or feelings of the characters than by the demands of this thesis; the dialogue is full of pertinent comment, social and political; and most of the characters themselves are so much mere social types that many of them, such as the several "Senators," have not even individual names, but seem to be solely the personifications of economic or political tendencies. Timon himself, the only figure of really major stature, appears, not in his traditional role of the sour misanthrope, but as the victim of bad social forces that in time bring ruin to Athens. The disasters that overtake him represent the decay of the old feudal virtue of liberality—and feudalism, as seen in the Falstaff plays,¹ was indeed decadent in Elizabethan times. Timon's soldierly counterpart, moreover, the brave and choleric Alcibiades, reflects military virtue disregarded in a state where greedy usury dominates policy.² Timon himself seems to pass through three stages: a riotous generosity in which he consumes or gives away all his great fortune, a fury when he finds that his friends forsake him in need, and a vitriolic melancholy that finally makes him retreat to a cave and commit suicide. In the first of these, he is clearly sanguine, and, like the sanguine Duncan,³ falls by his own gullibility; in the second, he is disillusioned, vengeful and choleric; and, in the third, this disillusion brings on melancholy to the verge of madness—a psychological evolution somewhat paralleled by Lear⁴ and Coriolanus.⁵ Lear certainly reflects his changing mental condition in the tempo of his speech;⁷ and one might inquire whether Timon also does so, and, furthermore, what lyrical patterns the play presents, irrespective of plot and character.

By the computation of slurrings within and between words and by elisions and like evidence,⁸ the tempo of Shakespeare's verse is approximately revealed, and reduced to ratios such as one slow to two fast, i.e. 1:2. As different types of character and different humors were thought to have their special types of speech,⁹ and as certain situations generally induce excited speed or passive retardation, so tempo should have its roots in plot and character; and a study of these correlations should be significant. The tempo-average for the whole play of *Timon* is very fast, in fact 1:3+, unless (as one would hardly expect) the numerous prose passages, in which of course tempo cannot be computed, reduce this average. The first act runs at the rapid pace of 1:4—; the second is much slower; the third, a series of variable, short scenes; the fourth, fast; and the last on the whole moderate. Taken scene by scene, the play shows extreme variation. Act III, Scene i is 1:1; and Act III, Scene iii is 1:10½; but the three fastest scenes and the three slowest are very short, or at least have little verse. The rest all fall between 1:2— and 1:4—, retarding on the whole toward the conclusion of the play: in fact, the last scene falls to an average of 1:2—. The tempo of *Timon*, taken scene by scene, certainly presents a contrast to the slow-moving monotone of the plays of the first and second periods.

Like the chronicle histories, this problem play has many characters that appear too briefly to be individualized; but, even so, the tempo of some of them seems to have a *rationale*. The Poet and the Painter appear together in two scenes, one early and one late in the action; their professions should make them phlegmatic and therefore slow;¹⁰ but their tempo does not bear this out: in the casual dialogue of Act I, Scene i, the Poet achieves the astonishing ratio of 1:15, and the Painter, 1:6; in Act V, Scene i, the former falls to 1:4, and the latter to 1:5. Their greater exuberance in the earlier scene perhaps accounts for their faster speed; for, in the latter, when they come to visit the embittered Timon at his cave, they are much less sure both of him and of themselves. The First Senator (if he is consistently the same individual in the several places where he appears) has in Act II, Scene i an average of 1:1½, in Act III, Scene v, an average of 1:2, in Act V, Scene i, 1:2+; in Act V, Scene ii, he speaks only two lines with an average of 0:2; and, in Act V, Scene iv, he returns to 1:1½; all of these averages are slow as the play goes; and this deliberation agrees with the Senator's age and the

dignity of his office. The Second Senator appears in three scenes. In Act III, Scene v and Act V, Scene i, he contrasts somewhat with his slower colleague, with an average of 1:3; and, in Act V, Scene iv, he falls to 1:2+. He is consistently the faster, but, even so, below the average of the play. Shakespeare's use of tempo in these minor figures, though it shows no great subtlety, is at least reasonable and consistent.

The sub-major roles of Alcibiades, Apemantus and Flavius yield some points of interest. The soldier Alcibiades in word and action shows every evidence of the choleric spirit appropriate to his calling; but the tempo of his verse averages only 1:1½, a strange anomaly in so fast a play. Perhaps his prose would increase this ratio; or perhaps Shakespeare is using sharp contrast, merely for its own theatrical sake, as he did in *Romeo and Juliet*.¹¹ Apemantus is the Thersites of the piece and, as such, speaks his stinging comment almost entirely in prose. In two scenes (I, ii and IV, iii), however, his part has enough verse for the computation of tempo; and both yield a ratio of 1:2—. His humor is certainly melancholy; and, at times, his speech gives evidence of a corresponding jerkiness in such combinations as "have't.Do not" and "enforcedly;thou'ldst" (IV, iii, 217 and 240). Both of these roles have too much prose for safe generalization; but that of Apemantus shows some correlation between character, humor and tempo.

Flavius, Timon's honest steward, tries vainly to stave off his master's bankruptcy, and then, like Adam in *As You Like It*, proposes to use his own "gold" to support the fallen Timon. His tempo shows great variation from scene to scene; but most of the more extreme ratios are based on too few lines to be significant. In Act II, Scene ii, he tells his master of the overwhelming debts and the impending foreclosures, and defends his own course with dignity. His ratio here is a sedate 1:2—, which rises to the greater speed of 1:7 when he assures his master of his honesty. In this dialogue, Timon speaks at the rate of 1:4—; and thus the two show a striking contrast in tempo—the alarmed Timon and the grave and sorrowful Flavius. In Act IV, Scene ii, the Steward in somewhat faster tempo takes a sad leave of his fellow-servants; and his soliloquy at the end of the scene on the misfortune of great riches, falls to a mere 1:1½. As a servant, Flavius should be mercurial; but his high character places him rather in the sanguine humor as "honest . . . just, true, bene-

volent, liberall, faithful"; and, though he is hardly fortune's minion, the "grave"¹² tempo of his speech seems to ally him with this lucky humor. When he visits the cave in the forest to which his master has retreated, and is shocked at his miserable condition "Full of decay and failing," his speed rises to 1:3+; but he cannot persuade Timon to accept help; and, at the end of the scene, they part. Despite this repulse, he returns to guide the two Senators to Timon's retreat; and the slow tempo of the eleven lines he speaks suggests his unwillingness in this "vain" errand. On the whole, his speech, be it fast or slow, seems fairly *legato*, and this would accord with the apparently sanguine humor of his personality.

Timon of Athens, like *Richard II*, is a sort of biographical drama in which the title role dominates the plot. Except for the episode of Alcibiades and the Senators, Timon's doings and reactions are the entire story; and he has an important speaking part in eight of the longest and most crucial scenes. His slowest, in which he insults his former flatterers by a feast of warm water, falls to 1:2+; and the fastest, his bitter soliloquy that immediately follows, rises to 1:5+. His part falls into three divisions: the first, apparently sanguine, includes the two initial acts, and runs 1:3— in Act I, Scene i, and 1:4+ in Scene ii, and 1:4— in Act II, Scene ii. Here he speaks in a flowing, colloquial measure, the even speed of which suggests his happy but thoughtless way of life. The fact that contrasting evidences for slow and fast rarely appear in close juxtaposition, further suggests the *legato* movement of the sanguine humor. The second step in Timon's psychological evolution appears most clearly in Act III, Scene iv: at line 78, he enters in a "rage," flinging bitter rhetorical questions at the company; and he achieves an even faster ratio of 1:4½. In the third division, this fury ebbs to a tense and settled melancholy, sometimes slower as at the mock-feast in Act III, Scene vi and in his final scene, and sometimes as fast as 1:5+, as in the soliloquy that comprises Act IV, Scene i. This third and last stage in Timon's character falls to an overwhelming melancholy, a most dangerous humoral state that might well lead to madness and to suicide. In these latter scenes, Timon's speech is generally *rubato*, as one might expect from his humor. His soliloquy that begins Act IV, Scene iii, for example, though it yields only eleven evidences of slow speed, places eight of them so near to opposite indications as to show rather clearly a very variable movement; and his later lines in the scene supply such rhythmic contrasts as "th'abhorèd" and "never learn'd." The Timon

of the last two acts is unquestionably melancholy, and shows it in his tempo. In an article published in 1940, five years before the first study in the tempo of Shakespeare's verse, the present writer pointed out the evolution of Timon's character and humor from sanguine to choleric and so to melancholy; and now a computation of his tempo confirms these results, and shows that the rhythms of his speech reflect the appropriate changes at just these points in the drama.

The lyrical patterns of *Timon*, scene by scene, are difficult to trace, for many of the scenes are short or badly broken with prose; but a few passages seem worth the computation. The first 179 lines of Act I, Scene i, until Apemantus enters, are divided by Timon's entrance into two parts: in the first 97 lines, the Poet, the Painter and the Jeweller discuss their master's lavish bounty at a headlong speed that begins with 1:4½ for the first twenty-one lines, and in the last 44 has not a single evidence of retardation. Timon enters; and, in the fifteen lines that follow until the Old Athenian comes in, the tempo suddenly falls to 1:2; and the speeches that follow run down to 1:2/3. Lucilius and the Athenian take their leave; and Timon in a dialogue of 24 lines at 1:2+, accepts the offerings of the Painter, the Poet and the Jeweller. In short, the first 97 lines of the scene start very fast and continue even faster; the following 82 lines are much slower, especially in the middle when Timon grants the Old Athenian's request for a dowry. The concluding hundred odd lines of the scene are largely in prose; but two passages (lines 242-257 and 273-285) are verse, the former running at 1:12 and the latter at 1:9: if these two be characteristic of the rest, the last third of the scene is about as rapid as the first, and the scene as a whole presents the symmetrical pattern of the trough of a great wave—very fast, then slower and slower, then faster and very fast again.

Act II, Scene ii likewise falls into three parts: the first includes some fifty lines of verse with a short prose interpolation; the second, some seventy lines of prose; the third, the last 110 lines of the scene, including a short prose passage at line 186. The first of these sections begins with a slow soliloquy by Flavius; and, as other characters enter and go out, it grows faster and then slower, with an average altogether of 1:1½. The long prose dialogue that forms the second section seems to go fast—or at least so the ellipses and the abbreviation-marks shown in the text would seem to indicate. In the last sec-

tion, Timon learns from Flavius of his ruin: it starts very moderately at 1:1½ from line 123 to line 155, and then rises to 1:3-, then to 1:4 and finally to 1:9 from lines 212 to 233. In short, the scene starts with fifty lines on the whole slow, then has some seventy lines of seemingly rapid prose, and then some hundred and ten lines that increase in tempo progressively from 1:1½ to 1:9, in which Timon at last realizes that he faces disaster: in this last part, the tempo certainly expresses character and situation.

The 118 lines of Act III, Scene v, in which Alcibiades vainly pleads his friend's cause before the Senators, runs a rather even tenor when cut at speech-endings into four large segments; and none of these segments varies greatly from the scene's general average of 1:1½; but, divided into six smaller and more arbitrary units, it shows rising and falling waves of tempo that grow more extreme in contrast as the suitor's plea is denied and he in anger accuses the Senators of "dotage" and "usury." The first eighteen lines run about 1:1, lines 19-52 accelerate to 1:3-; lines 53-65 fall again to 1:½; lines 66-83 rise to 1:5+; lines 74-94 again fall to 7:0; and the last twenty-three lines rise to 1:4-. Thus Shakespeare heightens the emotional intensity of his scene by a greater and yet greater ebb and flow of speed; and Alcibiades' final "spleen and fury" appears not only in his words but in the violently changing rhythmic pattern of the lines. The part of this grave but tactless soldier, especially in this scene, seems surprisingly slow in tempo; but Shakespeare, with a subtlety of art, seems to have substituted rhythmic contrast for mere speed to express deep-moving passion.

Act V, Scene i starts with thirty-eight lines of prose, and then follow almost two hundred of verse, in which Timon's former associates visit him at his cave, and the Senators beg him to return to Athens and save them from Alcibiades' revolt. Divided with the speech-endings at lines 64, 87, 113, 136, 166 and 188, the scene shows the following tempo-ratios in order: 1:7, 1:5-, 1:3½, 1:2+, 1:3+, and 1:1+. This is an almost perfectly consistent decline in speed. The faster passage from line 166 to 188 is Timon's caustic answer to the Senators, in which he declares: "Be Alcibiades your plague, you his . . ." In spite of this irregularity and in spite of three passages of several lines each without indication, the whole scene, from Timon's initial soliloquy to the Senators' final "*Exeunt*" goes at a more and

yet more deliberate pace. The playwright intended both the Senators and Timon to speak with a calm and bitter seriousness; and, in this problem-play, he wishes the audience to realize that their speeches express, not the exaggeration of hot blood, but the actual condition of affairs in the State. Even the most mordant criticism of society must at times take on the measured pace of sober exposition if the point of the criticism is to be made crystal-clear, and if the reader or spectator is to feel that the playwright speaks in deadly earnest.

The career of Timon as an illustration of Shakespeare's economic-political-social theme is the central action of this problem-play. The other characters are mere types to illustrate certain social groups; and, though Shakespeare makes their tempo passably self-consistent, he seems quite willing to sacrifice it as an expression of their humor: the Poet and the Painter speak too fast for their artistic mysteries; and he sacrifices even the choleric speed of the soldier Alcibiades in order to enforce the point of his exposition. As in *Richard II*, he seems to care only for the title role; and, in *Timon*, he re-shapes it into an illustration of his social theme, and lavishes his art to show the ruin of a great man in an evil society: the old feudal virtues and ideals, as the Falstaff plays had so realistically shown, showed the sere and yellow leaf; modern capitalism was re-placing the economy of the Middle Ages; and Shakespeare, in *Timon of Athens*, expresses his disapproval of this change not only in the words but in the very tempo of the lines.

West Virginia University

¹See the present writer, "Sir John Falstaff," *RES.*, VIII, 414 *et seq*

²See the present writer, "The Theme of *Timon of Athens*," *MLR*, XXIX, 20 *et seq*.

³See the present writer, "The 'Gracious Duncan,'" *MLR*, XXXVI, 495 *et seq*.

⁴See the present writer, "The Psychology of Shakespeare's Timon," *MLR*, XXXV, 521 *et seq*

⁵See the present writer, "The Old Age of King Lear," *JEGP*, XXXIX, 176 *et seq*

⁶See the present writer, "Shakespeare's Coriolanus," *W Va Bull*, 139, 22 *et seq*.

⁷See the present writer, "Patterns of Humor and Tenor in *King Lear*," *Bull Hist Med.*, XXI, 390 *et seq*.

⁸See the present writer, "Speech-Tempo in Act I of *Othello*," *W Va Bull.*, 1947, 49 *et seq*.

⁹See the present writer, "The Tempo of Richard II's Speech," *Stud. Neophil.*, XX, 88 *et seq*.

¹⁰C. Dariot, *Judgement of the Starres*, London, 1598, sig. D 4r.

¹¹See the present writer, "Contrast of Tempo in the Balcony Scene," *Sb. Bull*, XXII, 130 *et seq*.

¹²Dariot, *op. cit.*, sigs. E 1v and D 2v.



THE SHAKESPEAREAN APOSTROPHE

BY WARREN SMITH

THOUGH observations on the dramatist's employment of the soliloquy and aside abound, there has hardly been any discussion¹ of what might be considered as a third classification of Shakespearean monolog, the apostrophe. Yet there are actually more than 200 apostrophes in Shakespeare, at least one appearing in every play but three.² What seems to be general hesitation about treating a device so frequently used in the plays may come, in part, from some confusion about what an apostrophe really is. The soliloquy and aside, possibly because they depend largely on the stage picture at the time of delivery, seem somewhat easier to detect. The soliloquy, of course, requires that the actor giving it either be actually alone on stage or suppose that he is alone because the other actors present are hidden from his view.³ The aside, if delivered to the audience, demands at least one other player on stage, obviously within earshot, who does not hear it; if given to another actor, of course, the aside then requires at least a third actor nearby who does not hear it. Considerable discussion has centered itself around whether particular Shakespearean soliloquies were originally delivered "introspectively" or in direct address to the audience.⁴ The aside is given normally in direct address either to the audience or to another player.⁵ But under what circumstances can the apostrophe be delivered? What types of apostrophe are to be found in Shakespeare's plays?

In Shakespeare an actor can deliver an apostrophe on a stage occupied or unoccupied by other actors. In either circumstance, however, he addresses his lines directly neither to other players on the stage with him nor to his audience. As a matter of fact, the one certain way to distinguish a Shakespearean apostrophe from either the ordinary soliloquy or aside is through its wording. Here there is no problem of direct address to either the audience or another player,

for all apostrophes are addressed either to inanimate objects, to the gods, or to persons supposed to be incapable of hearing them at the time.

For example, there are numerous apostrophes in the plays to abstractions, like the one given by Portia to "love," while with bated breath she watches Bassanio about to choose one of the three caskets in *The Merchant of Venice*:

"... O love, be moderate; allay thy ecstasy;
In measure rain thy joy; scant this excess!
I feel too much thy blessing. Make it less
For fear I surfeit!" (III, ii, 111-114)^a

The actor playing the part of Portia could hardly have delivered this speech as direct address either to his audience or to Nerissa and Bassanio on stage with him. In the plays also are many apostrophes addressed to the gods, as in *Cymbeline* (III, vi, 87-89), where Imogen apostrophizes while Belarius and her incognito brothers whisper apart:

"... Pardon me, gods!
I'd change my sex to be companion with them,
Since Leonatus' false."

This, assuredly, is not meant to be a confidence given directly to the audience, but rather, a matter strictly between Imogen and the gods above her. Indeed it is interesting to speculate whether actors giving this kind of apostrophe may not have looked in the direction of the actual playhouse "heavens" during the delivery.

Another large group of apostrophes addresses characters of the play who at the time are off the stage entirely. Such, for instance, is the apostrophe delivered by the Countess in *All's Well That Ends Well* to the absent Bertram, immediately after she reads in his letter that he has flown the French King's court:

Countess (alone on stage): "This is not well, rash and unbridled boy,
To fly the favours of so good a king,
To pluck his indignation on thy head
By the misprizing of a maid too virtuous
For the contempt of empire." (III, ii, 30-34)

Here, of course, the actor could readily have directed the whole speech to the letter he held in his hands. An interesting variety of apostrophe addressed to characters off the stage is that which is uttered to an actor who is in the process of making his exit. In *Richard II* the gardener hurls one such at the Queen immediately after her exit:

"Poor Queen, so that thy state might be no worse,
I would my skill were subject to thy curse! . . ." (III, iv, 102-103)

Where originally the player faced to deliver this kind of apostrophe might seem to be a problem indeed, but there is little reason to suppose that he could not have faced squarely his audience in front of him. Almost everyone has seen this sort of thing happen in real life. An example which recently came under my own notice occurred in a restaurant: the actors, a rather heavy-handed boss and an innocent but irate waitress. The dialogue ran as follows:

Boss (to waitress) "Why do you have to loaf so much of the time?
Get to work!" *Exit* (from the vicinity)

Waitress (facing toward me): "I could work a whole lot better if
you'd stay out of the way."

Though as she spoke these words the waitress looked squarely at me (her audience), they were directed, of course, to her employer. She was careful to soften her delivery enough to keep it well out of his earshot. The whole affair was entirely natural, and the stage business may well have been based on such familiar incidents.

Some apostrophes in Shakespeare, on the other hand, are given to actors who actually are on the stage. But in every case the object of the address is assumed to be incapable of hearing the words, either because he is 'dead', like Hotspur when he receives the apostrophe from Prince Hal in *1 Henry IV*, beginning:

". . . Fare thee well, great heart!
Ill-weav'd ambition, how much art thou shrunk! . . ."⁷

or because he fakes death, like Falstaff who, while playing possum, gets an apostrophe⁸ from the same prince, beginning:

"... What, old acquaintance? Could not all this flesh
Keep in a little life? Poor Jack, farewell! . . ."⁹

or because he is 'asleep', like both Richard and Richmond who doze in their respective tents in *Richard III* while eleven successive apostrophes are addressed to each of them in turn by the ghosts of Richard's victims.¹⁰

Many apostrophes in Shakespeare do not confine themselves to one particular addressee. In *Cymbeline*, for instance, Posthumus consumes a whole scene¹¹ with a speech which distributes his repentance impartially among a bloody handkerchief, "you married ones,"¹² Pisano (who is off the stage at the time), the gods, Britain, Imogen (also off the stage), and the gods again. This apostrophe of Posthumus, to be sure, must be considered also a soliloquy, for during its delivery the actor stands alone on the stage.¹³ But since such speeches can hardly be classified accurately as pure soliloquies and since numerous apostrophes in the plays are delivered by actors alone on the stage,¹⁴ it would seem that for monologs of this type a new label should be coined, like "apostrophe-soliloquy," or "soliloquy-apostrophe."

The great majority of those apostrophes delivered with other actors on stage, as would be expected, are evidently heard by them. In fact, most apostrophes of this kind are so written as to include the others on stage in their wording. For example, when Richard II apostrophizes in this manner to the absent Bolingbroke:

"... Proud Bolingbroke, I come
To change blows with thee . . ." (*Richard II*, III, ii, 188-189)

it is evident that he is spokesman also for Carlisle, Aumerle, Salisbury, Scroop, and the others on stage with him. *Cymbeline* offers an instance, indeed, where the other players on stage join the apostrophizer in a kind of refrain:

Belarius: "... Hail, thou fair heaven!
We house i'th' rock, yet use thee not so hardly
As prouder livers do."

Gurderius: "Hail, heaven!"

Arviragus: "Hail, heaven!" (III, iii, 7-9)

On the other hand, a small but significant minority of Shakespearean apostrophes evidently go unheard by other actors on the stage who at the time are perfectly capable of hearing them.¹⁵ These differ sharply from soliloquies, which are always overheard when other players are anywhere on the stage.¹⁶ And though similar to asides in requiring other actors to be within earshot when delivered, the "unheard" apostrophe differs from the aside in that it is never addressed directly to the audience or to other actors. Of course the only way the reader can pick out unheard apostrophes is to relate their content to the situation taking place in the play at the moment of their delivery. For example, in *Antony and Cleopatra* when Enobarbus addresses Antony, who is off the stage:

"... Sir, sir, thou art so leaky
That we must leave thee to thy sinking, for
Thy dearest quit thee." (III, xiii, 63-65)

we can be almost certain that Cleopatra, who is on stage, is not supposed to hear his words. We can also be sure that Pisanio's ejaculation in *Cymbeline* (III, v, 104-105) to the absent heroine:

"... O Imogen,
Safe mayst thou wander, safe return again!"

is not intended to be noticed by Cloten, who is standing beside Pisanio reading a letter. And though possibly one or two of the other eighteen instances¹⁷ of this kind of thing are not so clearly evident, there are enough definitely valid examples to warrant the conclusion that the unheard apostrophe was an accepted convention on Shakespeare's stage. Moreover, it is always wise to remember that how the players acted before their eyes must have saved the audience at the

Theatre, the Globe, or Blackfriars from having to examine the wording of each apostrophe through a microscope.

Rhode Island State College

¹For one of the rare instances where the Shakespearean apostrophe is given any space at all, see Morris Arnold, *The Soliloquies of Shakespeare, a Study in Technic*, New York, 1911, pp. 79 and 136-137.

²*The Comedy of Errors, The Merry Wives of Windsor, and King Lear*

³Of the 408 soliloquies I count in Shakespeare, fully 354 are delivered by a player who is completely alone on the stage at the time

⁴See especially Darrell Figgis, *Shakespeare, a Study*, London, 1911, pp. 3-4 and 14-15; Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare, First Series*, London, 1927, pp. 3-4, *Prefaces, Second Series*, 1930, pp. 25-27, and "Shakespeare's Dramatic Art" in Harley Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, eds., *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, New York, 1934, p. 9, Doris Fenton, *The Extra-Dramatic Moment in Elizabethan Plays*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930, *passim*, and S. L. Bethell, *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition*, Duke University Press, 1944, pp. 99-105

⁵Some 300 asides are given directly to the audience and about 400 are exchanged between actors

⁶All quotations and line markings are taken from G. L. Kittredge, ed., *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Boston, 1936. The quotations have been carefully checked against the pre-1623 quarto and First Folio texts

⁷The whole apostrophe to Hotspur is at V, iv, 87-101

⁸Even in this instance, of course, the apostrophizer believes that his addressee is incapable of hearing his words.

⁹The whole apostrophe, a continuation of the one to Hotspur, is at V, iv, 102-110

¹⁰V, iii, 119-177

¹¹V, i, 1-33

¹²Granville-Barker (*Prefaces, Second Series*, p. 241) labels this phrase a soliloquy and wonders whether "you married ones" could have been "addressed plump to his audience." I prefer to think of it as an apostrophe addressed to everyone who is married, whether present in the audience or not

¹³In general, Shakespeare's apostrophes are much shorter than his soliloquies, which is understandable considering that most apostrophes occur in the presence of other players who are capable of interrupting. The longest apostrophe, given by Timon (*Timon of Athens*, IV, i, entire scene), extends to forty-one lines. The shortest, delivered by Lucentio (*The Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii, 229), is of only three words. The normal length of the Shakespearean apostrophe, however, is from two to ten lines

¹⁴Some 87 of the 216 apostrophes in Shakespeare's plays

¹⁵Twenty of the 129 apostrophes that are given in the presence of other actors

¹⁶In Shakespeare there are 54 soliloquies delivered with other players on the stage. All but one (given by Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 606-631) are definitely overheard by the other characters

¹⁷See 2 *Henry VI* (III, i, 202-209 and III, ii, 136-148), 1 *Henry VI* (V, i, 58-62 and V, iv, 60-61), *Richard III* (IV, iv, 15-16), *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, ii, 229), *Richard II* (III, iii, 140-141), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (III, i, 109-114), *The Merchant of Venice* (III, ii, 111-114, quoted above), *Troilus and Cressida* (I, ii, 84-85 and V, ii, 65), *Macbeth* (IV, i, 144 and IV, iii, 100), *Timon of Athens* (IV, iii, 464-475 and V, i, 53-56), and *Cymbeline* (III, vi, 76-79, III, vi, 87-89, quoted above, and IV, ii, 33-38).



QUARTERLY REVIEWS

PROFESSOR HARDIN CRAIG'S AN INTERPRETATION OF SHAKESPEARE*

BY WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

MOST writing about Shakespeare today falls into one of three categories: technical studies of restricted scope; general interpretations from a restricted "angle," such as political ideas, audience control, "psychology"; literary essays of an impressionistic character. The writer's assumed audience may be scholars or the general public, or sometimes both. With the tremendous mass of hypothesis (embodying some degree of truth) accumulated in the last three generations, the task of the critic who wishes to write a general and comprehensive book about Shakespeare—not an unreasonable aim in the day of Edward Dowden—has become well nigh insuperable.

Professor Craig, in the modest preface to his new volume, notes this fact in explanation of what "may give the impression of lack of system" in his work. His procedure, he points out, is to deal with each play in the fashion most appropriate to its special character and problems. Hence he treats briefly the "more familiar plays," giving chief attention, instead, to points of obscurity, to errors and misapprehensions. He takes his stand among the school of historical critics, and hence incorporates much information about Elizabethan life and ideas; but he aims also to stimulate appreciative response to the plays. He has "written into the book"—that is kept constantly in mind as matters for illustration or demonstration—the unity of Shakespeare and his conviction that contrary to the opinion often expressed Shakespeare "was a great original thinker." He adds that he

*The Dryden Press, New York, 1948, pp. x + 400.

has incorporated in the book, usually somewhat changed material from *The Enchanted Glass*, and from his other writings, principally, it may be noted, the excellent introductions to the plays in his edition published in 1931.

The special character of the book derives from the principles and the procedure outlined in the preface. He is writing, it would seem, primarily for students, or for those general readers who need guidance such as his long experience as a college teacher has shown to be desirable. Here is the method we all use, stressing what the student, (or reader) should notice or know, with brief exposition at appropriate points of recent discoveries, techniques, controversies: he discusses authorship in connection with *Henry VI* and *Henry VIII*; the assault on "romantic" criticism and the integrity of Shakespeare's ideology (order, divine right of Kings. etc.,) in connection with *Troilus and Cressida* and *Lear*; poetic justice in connection with *Othello*. In these discussions are revealed Professor Craig's candor and fairmindedness, his full acquaintance with the body of Shakespeare criticism, and his readiness to accept the findings of his fellow scholars. He usually keeps these topics subordinate to his principal aim—to convey to his readers the quality of the individual plays and to present them in their groupings and their evolution, as reflections of the age and of the artist. His last chapter, "Shakespeare as a Citizen of the World," (quite in place at the end of a college course,) begins with the familiar story of the changing critical estimates of Shakespeare from his own time to ours, speculates on what the judgment of the future will be, and adds an interesting personal summation of the poet's "enduring quality."

Viewed thus generally there is much to commend *An Interpretation of Shakespeare*. That in detail it too often comes short of one's expectations is largely due to the method employed. The synthesis of (hypothetical) lecture notes and the 1931 introductions, which seems frequently to provide the substance and form of an essay, is too often imperfect. Sometimes, as in the treatments of *Titus Andronicus*, *As You Like It*, and *Measure for Measure*, an idea or a fact is introduced twice; sometimes there is an effect of incoherence or disorder,

as in the essays on *King John*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *Timon of Athens*, or of anticlimax as in the essay on *The Winter's Tale*. Some of the plays are dismissed with a brevity not really justified on the ground stated in the preface—their familiarity—for example, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*. In some of the essays on the plays just enumerated there are excellent pieces of commentary: the praise of I Henry VI as drama, the interpretation of the characters of Falstaff and Hotspur, the remark that in the end of *Timon* the author is trying "to make the play assume the conventional form of tragedy." But as rounded essays they are disappointing.

Professor Craig is too much inclined to use the theory of revision to explain difficulties in a play, or to invoke a lost original Shakespearean draft. His discussions of controversial matters, where he finds them necessary, have to be so brief as not wholly to satisfy, and yet they tend to crowd out or make sketchy the general critical appraisal.

It is to be regretted that the author's plan did not call for a complete reshaping of his views on each play. Where he has done this, as for example in discussing most of the tragedies, the essays have coherence and climax, shooting straight at their mark. The evidence also seems to indicate that in a volume for general readers it is best to pass over general controversies, since the treatment is bound to be too extended for a "popular" interpretation and too brief for scientific demonstration of one's conclusion. Nevertheless the student will find many interesting observations and occasionally a provocative reformulation: that the appeal of *Hamlet*, for instance, is largely due to its being "the typical struggle of the race of men against earthly environment," and that it represents the hero's "progression toward both action and peace of mind"; or that, whereas "Hamlet represents the innermost life of all men, Lear [represents] man's life in its social relations."

THE FOREIGN SOURCES OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS

BY EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works. An Annotated Bibliography of the Commentary Written on this Subject between 1904 and 1940, together with Lists of Certain Translations Available to Shakespeare. By Selma Guttman. New York, King's Crown Press, 1947. xxi, 168 p. \$2.75.

DR. GUTTMAN in this, her Columbia dissertation, has continued H. R. D. Anders' summary of the scholarly opinion regarding Shakespeare's foreign sources contained in his *Shakespeare's Books* (1904). She has divided the material by literatures—Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish and others—and subdivided it by the authors whose works, it has been argued, were Shakespeare's sources. Besides an introduction and a full index, her bibliography contains 571 entries. Each entry in the bibliography refers to a discussion of a foreign author as a presumed source of Shakespeare. A book, pamphlet or article by this method of presentation is often listed several times—under each foreign author with whom it deals.

In planning this bibliography Dr. Guttman has imposed certain limits: "Sources written in a foreign tongue by an English author" fall outside "the scope of this study" (p. xiv). "Source suggestions contained in the lives of Shakespeare and in editions of Shakespeare's works are not considered, because of their general dependence upon earlier tradition" (p. xiv). "Commentary [*sic*] on Shakespeare's knowledge of law, medicine, biology and the Bible are omitted" (p. xiv). "Rudolf Grossman's *Spanien und das elisabethanische Drama*, Hamburg, 1920, is not included, because of its unwieldy arrangement" (p. xv)—a strange reason for the omission of a book from a bibliography!

Some users of Dr. Guttman's bibliography will regret that she has been forced to omit the careful examination of Shakespeare's

sources found in J. Q. Adams' and E. K. Chambers' lives of the poet. Certainly the opinions of George Lyman Kittredge, even as briefly stated in his one-volume *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (c1934) as to whether Shakespeare used originals or translations of foreign sources (*cf.* p. 133-34, 433, 880, 925, 973, 1451-52) would have more weight with many readers than those of most of the authorities which she has cited. Her limits also exclude such material as Professor Hyder E. Rollins' masterly summing up of the sources of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* in *The New Variorum Edition: The Poems* (1938, p. 390-405, 416-39).

Dr. Guttman, on the other hand, has included much material of doubtful value. Reference to Baconian authors and refutations of them, for example, abound in her pages.

Again, she has excluded the studies made since 1904 of Shakespeare's knowledge of law and similar subjects, some of which have been written by men learned in their professions whose opinions as to Shakespeare's foreign sources in their specialized fields would usually command respect. But she has made twelve references to a work in the same category as those which she has excluded—Captain William Jaggard's pamphlet, *Shakespeare once a Printer and Bookman* (1933), in which the aged Shakespearean bibliographer urged that Shakespeare worked as a proofreader for Richard Field and for William Jaggard, the printer of the First Folio. In arguing for this fantastic theory, Captain Jaggard ascribed to Shakespeare a knowledge of almost every book, including twelve by foreign authors listed by Dr. Guttman, issued from either press during the early years of his London career.

To conclude, Dr. Guttman has collected a considerable amount of material, accessibly arranged, into her bibliography. But the user of her bibliography will obtain the best results from it if he bears in mind its limitations arising from her plan of inclusion and exclusion of material.

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

THE Shakespeare Association of America has lost one of its most devoted and loyal members in the death of Samuel Tannenbaum. With Professors A. H. Thorndike and Paul Kaufman and the writer, he was one of the founders of the Association, and an earnest worker and planner for its growth, a firm believer in its usefulness not only for the honoring and studying of William Shakespeare, but even more as a means of furthering a closer friendship amongst all English speaking peoples. For many years he was the scholarly editor of the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, and when the devastation of the recent world war interrupted scholarly pursuits in many ravaged countries, he gladly assumed the arduous task of compiling the annual Shakespeare Bibliography. The Association and all scholars owe him a debt of gratitude; those of us who knew him intimately feel for him not only gratitude but also respect and affection.

Dr. Tannenbaum was a distinguished medical practitioner, specializing successfully for many years in nervous disorders. He continued almost until the time of his death not only to follow his profession but also to pursue his scholarly researches in the field of literature. Only last November because of his illness he resigned as the editor of the *Bulletin* and aided generously our new editor, Professor Robert Smith, in making the transition.

The Association wishes to express its gratitude and esteem for Dr. Tannenbaum and to extend its sympathy to his widow and to his family.

JOHN H. H. LYON
Vice-President of the Shakespeare Association
of America.



NOTES AND COMMENTS

A NOTE ON SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA* AND A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM

M. Michel Poirier in a recent article¹ calls attention to parallel treatments of a similar theme in Sidney's *Arcadia* and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and he offers the play as a "further and still more convincing proof that Shakespeare had read the *Arcadia* carefully."² Poirier thus establishes that the *Arcadia* may be listed among the sources of *MND*, just as it has been listed among those of *King Lear*, *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*.

I wish to offer the suggestion of a possible further use of the *Arcadia* in *MND* than M. Poirier has intimated. I believe that the Lysander-Hermia-Demetrius-Helena love tangle in Shakespeare's plot is strongly analogous to a similar tangle in *Arcadia*, and that Sidney's may well have furnished a suggestion for Shakespeare's. E. K. Chambers suggests no source for this element of Shakespeare's plot, although the sources for most of the other elements of the play have been long established.³ The episode in Sidney to which I refer is the Philoclea-Zelmane-Basilus-Gynecia tangle.⁴

Hermia and Lysander love each other just as in the *Arcadia* Zelmane, a man disguised as a woman, loves Philoclea. Basilus loves Zelmane, thinking him a woman, just as Demetrius loves Hermia. In Shakespeare's play, Helena loves Demetrius who spurns her, just as in the *Arcadia*, Gynecia loves Zelmane who spurns her. Thus, in each case we have one pair of mutual lovers (Hermia-Lysander, Philoclea-Zelmane); a man pursuing a woman who does not love him (Basilus-Zelmane, Demetrius-Hermia); and a woman pursuing

a man who does not love her (Helena-Demetrius, Gynecia-Zelmana). Notice that in Sidney's mix-up, Zelmana, who because of his disguise can serve the function of both man and woman, in the latter two cases, serves the functions of both Hermia and Demetrius in Shakespeare. But the characteristics of the tangles in both cases remain the same.

Numerous differences between the two situations may, of course, be enumerated, but the similarities remain strikingly obvious. And, if we accept Poirier's thesis that the *Arcadia* was a partial source of the play, and we consider also that no other source for this element of the plot has ever been suggested, the matter becomes one that is worthy of serious consideration.

IRVING RIBNER

University of North Carolina

¹"Sidney's influence upon *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Studies in Philology*, XLIV (1947), 483-489.

²*Ibid.*, p. 484.

³*William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 356-363.

⁴*The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, Cambridge, 1912-26, I, 145 ff.

SUGGESTED SHAKESPEARE READINGS

Attention is called to the excellent Shakespeare essay on "The Nemesis of Pride" by Robert Hamilton in the June issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After*; to the essay on *Troilus and Cressida* by I. A. Richards in the current issue of the *Hudson Review* (vol. I, no. 3, 1948) and to the technical essays for specialists in *English Institute Essays*, 1947:

(a) Professor Richards, discussing *Troilus and Cressida* and Plato expresses again what Lovejoy, Craig, Tillyard, and others have revealed as *The Great Chain of Being*, those Platonic congeries of thoughts which form a chief pattern in Elizabethan thinking. The famous speech of Ulysses on *order* and *degree* is again stressed and his aspect as "head of an In-

telligence Service." Professor Richards ventures a revaluation of the play (not exactly in Basic English): "its scenes are among the most summoning of Shakespeare's glances at life, . . . they have at least an affinity with and an elective power of reflecting Plato at his height; in particular that Troilus is as little a 'whining babbler' as Ulysses is a 'wooden doll,' [Jusserand's estimates] and in general that current interpretation misread the play as badly as the tag-quotation mistakes the famous line," viz. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." To understand Troilus's speech beginning: "But value dwells not in particular will," etc. "each sentence here, and every word (especially the small ones, the *as well*, the *of itself* and the *in*) deserves the fullest imaginative study"; Cressida, Professor Richards likes: "to make her very young—almost with her finger in her mouth still—a little actress through and through . . ." One wonders what Ulysses would have thought of this interpretation.

Professor Richards utters a warning, always timely, "against reading the views of our own day into Shakespeare." What he calls a "worse risk" is "supposing that the meanings we may rightly find in the work are to be limited by what we can conjecture to have been Shakespeare's intentions." This last declaration opens interpretation to the free ranging fancy of every aesthete and to the symbolic, philosophical, or imaginative patterns he may discover; a good example being G. Wilson Knight's various volumes: *The Wheel of Fire*, *The Imperial Theme*, etc.; also the Shakespeare essays to appear in the next *Annual* (1948) which were read at the Institute this fall.

This contention poses an issue likely to involve clashes between schools of interpretation; it may be called a challenge from the Greeks thrown into the Trojan camp of the Historical School, which assumes that by a close study of the language, text, Elizabethan stage, customs, etc., we can discover not only what Shakespeare really wrote but what his "*intention*" was for his theatre-goers and readers. Professor Draper's *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience*, (1938), is a good example of this kind of study, and especially Professor Paul S. Conklin's

recent *A History of Hamlet Criticism*, Columbia University, 1947.

(b) Thus Professor Raymond Black, the competent editor of the new Variorum *Richard II*, assures us that only by a careful restudying and revaluation of the text can we discover Shakespeare's meaning and come closer and closer to his intention.

(c) Similarly in "Problems in the editing of Shakespeare: Text" by Professor M. A. Shaaber of the University of Pennsylvania, we find again a division of opinion on whether Shakespeare's punctuation is logical or dramatic or merely haphazard. Does it suggest the way in which a speech was intended to be uttered? This thesis, originally set forth by Sir Percy Simpson, in his essay "Shakesperian Punctuation," 1911, and sponsored with qualifications by R. B. McKerrow, was regarded as "not proven" by Raymond MacDonald Alden in "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers," [*PMLA*, XXXIX (1924) 557-80]. It finds approval however, in Shaaber's essay, (p. 105).

(d) Professor Hereward T. Price discussing the thorny textual problems of "The First Quarto of *Titus Andronicus*," and going further into Shakespeare's spelling and pronunciation, flatly states: "Nobody can deny that Shakespeare went to a great deal of trouble in order to indicate the pronunciation he desired,—marking elisions and contractions and scorning etymology and tradition in order to pin down the word to its pronunciation. It is almost as if we heard his voice over our shoulders," (p. 164).

These three essays assure us that minute bibliographical research is anything but profitless labor; it brings us closer and closer to Shakespeare in his workshop. A timely warning to mere aesthetes and a challenge thrown into the Richards camp, is found in Professor Price's closing paragraph.

"Modern scholars like Kittredge, Neilson, and Dover Wilson are gradually revealing to us the beauty of Shakespeare's line. Not enough justice has been done to the aesthetic values of scholarship. Scholars are supposed to have souls as hard as shoe leather and to pay attention to matters like spell-

ing because poetry is beyond their reach. Actors sneer at us as if we were moles blindly working in the dark, and the aesthetic critics sniff when we come near them. And yet we few, we happy few, we band of brothers, are the only people who know how to read Shakespeare; to us alone is his rare and refreshing fruit really sweet and juicy. We are like Saul, the son of Kish, who went out to seek his father's asses and who found a kingdom. If the actors and aesthetes want to find that kingdom too, they had better join us, or they will never get there."

(e) Dr. Giles E. Dawson concludes the Shakespeare section of this volume with a learned discussion of "Copyright of plays in the Early Seventeenth Century." The system of copyright was far from efficient, but worked fairly well—:

"The Elizabethans simply were not very systematic. Their systems of law enforcement and finance, public and private, give ample proof of this. And the members of the Stationers' Company were undoubtedly well satisfied with a system of copyright which relied to a large degree upon common gossip, verbal agreements not recorded, and informal notes not preserved. Publishers thought they owned copyrights which they did not; they got into trouble over such mistakes and paid fines for them, they bickered and sued each other. But these difficulties were accepted philosophically as inescapable evidences of human imperfection. And through it all, literary property passed successfully from father to son and from husband to widow."

When new studies for scholars appear, it is good to recall provocative old ones for general readers, not always as fully remembered as they deserve. Among these are J. B. Smart's *Shakespeare-Truth and Tradition*, 1928, for those troubled by problems of authorship; Logan Persall Smith's *On Reading Shakespeare*, 1933, the comment of a sensitive mind on Shakespeare's masterpieces; and a penetrating vision of Shakespeare as thinker and poet by John Cowper Powys in his book of essays entitled *The Pleasures of Literature*, 1928; American edition entitled *Enjoyment of Literature*.

SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF BOSTON

Under the skillful management of John E. Hannigan, the Shakespeare Club of the Boston Bar Association has grown into a vigorous association of twenty members, according to *The Bar Bulletin* for October. The group resumed meetings on October 8, 1948.

Last year the Club read *Hamlet* progressively, and Professors Hannigan and Roy Davis of Boston University read papers. The club was entertained at one of its luncheons by John Carradine, movie star and Shakespearean actor of note; and on frequent occasions by Elliott Duvey, Director of the Tributary Theatre. The members attended Cornell's version of *Antony and Cleopatra* in a body and ended their season with a luncheon at which President Walter Powers demonstrated that Shakespeare is not entirely neglected at Daniel Webster's college on the Connecticut.

THE SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF NEW YORK

Officers and trustees of the Shakespeare Club of New York for the 1948-1949 fiscal year will be. President, Mr. Arthur Heine; Vice-presidents, The Mesdames Mary T. Sharpe, Minnie Gammond, Beatrice Tukesbury, Mary Delaney, and Dr. Franklin Dunham; Secretary, Miss Olive Potter; Treasurer, Miss Marian McCarthy; Curators, Mrs. Rosamund Reinhardt and Miss Marian McCarthy. Mrs. Minnie Williams Gammond will be in charge of memorabilia.

The calendar for the New York Club includes: *Twelfth Night*, Dec. 14 and Jan. 4; *King John*, Feb. 1, Feb. 15, and Mar. 1; *Coriolanus*, Mar. 15, Mar. 29, and Apr. 5. Other portions of the program are as follows: Thursday, Jan. 6, *Twelfth Night*; Friday, April 22, Shakespeare and St. George Day with laying of wreath on statue in Central Park; Sunday, April 24, Annual Dinner; Friday, April 29, Annual Meeting. The Board of Trustees meetings will be held on Nov. 26, Jan. 28, and Feb. 25.

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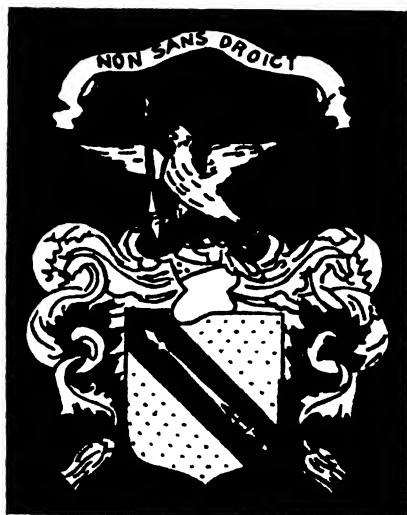
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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



The Laurence Olivier *Hamlet*

Current Fashions in *Hamlet* Criticism

Hamlet's "All But Blunted Purpose"

Horatio's Hamlet

VOLUME XXIV

JANUARY, 1949

Published by The Shakespeare Association of America, Incorporated,
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The Annual Bibliography for 1948 will appear in the April issue.

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ILLUSTRATION BY F. ROBERTS JOHNSON FOR THE VISION PRESS, LTD.,
EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*



THE LAURENCE OLIVIER *HAMLET*

BY JAMES G. McMANAWAY

THE long awaited *Hamlet* of Sir Laurence Olivier is an exciting picture. Done in black and white, as befits the somber story, it has not the color and glamor that made *Henry V* so popular. Its appeal is not the pageantry of medieval warfare, but the thrill of action and the verbal music of Shakespeare's most quotable lines. In photography, direction and acting the picture sets standards that are equalled perhaps once in a decade. Millions of people are going to be deeply moved by the tragic fate of a young Prince so gallant and so brilliantly intelligent that many a maid will see him in her mind's eye 'twixt sleeping and waking.

From lowest to highest, the members of the cast have been carefully chosen for their physical and histrionic qualifications for the assigned role. As producer and star performer, Olivier has a double responsibility which he discharges in such a manner as to establish him as one of the great directors and Shakespearian actors of this age. His lines are read with beauty and intelligence, and in his gestures he shows constant awareness of Hamlet's own injunction to "suit the action to the word, the word to the action." (Two questions do arise in the mind, however; the first is about Hamlet's conduct at each appearance of the Ghost—is it necessary, or fitting, that he should almost faint with shock? The second relates to the dubious advantage of suggesting the existence of an Oedipus complex by having Hamlet and his mother exchange unnaturally ardent kisses.) I like particularly a novel device utilized in the soliloquies. In "To be or not to be," for example, the actor's lips are motionless at the start, though we hear the lines in Olivier's familiar voice. But as the thoughts become more excited and the passions more intense, Hamlet breaks into tem-

pestuous speech. This is an effect impossible on the stage, but very lifelike.

Norman Wooland is a splendid Horatio, and Basil Sydney and Felix Aylmer are almost equally good as Claudius and Polonius. Terence Morgan does an interesting job with Laertes, who in his hands grows from a fop into a considerable, though not an admirable, man, despite the fact that in this version he is denied the big scene in which he storms the palace. Miss Eileen Herlie's only imperfection as the Queen is her too youthful appearance. Although this makes more credible her seduction by Claudius in the lifetime of Hamlet Senior and also Hamlet's almost unnatural affection for her, it challenges belief that she could be the mother of a thirty year old son — as she is. Opinions differ sharply about Miss Jean Simmons's Ophelia. In the early scene with Polonius and Laertes, she manifests a pretty independence and a flash of humor that are quite out of keeping with everything else that happens. Is it worth misleading the audience about her personality for the sake of a brief comic effect? It seems to me that Ophelia is thrown about too brutally in some scenes, but her performance in the Mad Scene pleases me, as she drifts in and out of the action with her snatches of song and her almost lucid moments. (The business of the drowning is photographically pretty, but wholly unrealistic.)

To many thousands who have never seen a Shakespearian play on the stage, and to those others who see one all too rarely, the picture will give form and substance to passages that have previously been known only for their poetic beauty and to scenes, that, without stage business and passionate action, may have seemed "words, words, words." How many of those who have had to memorize the adages that Polonius heaps on Laertes have realized how pitifully comic he can be, or guessed how easy it was for Hamlet to fool him to the top of his bent? Where else has one ever seen so pulse-quickenning a duel? Or watched a seeming-innocent Queen brought so devastatingly face to face with the consequences of her sensuality? Absorbed in the conflict of passions, most audiences will scarcely be aware that they are listening to blank verse, so natural is the dialogue and so sensitive is the reading of the lines. People who have not read *Hamlet* since school or college days are going to take the play off

the shelf and read it again, with keener and more informed pleasure.

Not that the picture tells the full *Hamlet* story. A thoughtful reading of the play will reveal a Prince infinitely more complex than the man of action portrayed in the picture. Confronted by a text that is far too long to be acted in two and three quarter hours, Sir Laurence, the actor and producer, and Alan Dent, the textual editor, have had to cut and slash and transpose scenes or passages, as have all the producers of *Hamlet* since Shakespeare's own day. (There was one notable exception, the producer of the five-hour *Hamlet* in which Maurice Evans starred several years ago.)

The decision in this case was to simplify the story and present the fable bare, except for such literary adornment as could be retained within the allotted time of performance. Audiences which meet Hamlet for the first time in this picture will be puzzled by such phrases as "the melancholy Dane" and by such references as they may have heard to a sensitive soul charged with a burden too heavy for it to bear; and certainly it would not occur to them, without the picture's explicit warning, that this is the tragedy of a man who could not make up his mind—as a matter of fact, most people will discover nothing in the picture to substantiate the warning.

As the literature distributed in the playhouse freely admits, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is a richer, more complex fabric than that shown on the screen. Gone is the ghost lore of the Elizabethans (of which, more will be said later), and with it has gone the justification for the Mouse Trap play. For if Hamlet does not have to decide whether it is an honest Ghost, he does not need to authenticate its story by catching the conscience of the King. And we who watch the screen cannot, as in reading the play, suffer with him the doubts that rack his spirit while he seeks confirmation of the ghostly disclosures.

On three important occasions Shakespeare holds up to Hamlet—and to us—the normal conduct of people in Hamlet's circumstances; and three times Hamlet—and we—see how far short the Prince falls. The drastic cutting of Hamlet's scene with the players robs us of the account of the death of Priam, which introduces the

first of these important mirror scenes. Now the stylized verse in which this narrative is written may seem objectionable or even comic to a modern audience, but its rendition was intended to be done with such simulated passion that, considering his own genuine cause of grief, Hamlet must burst out in admiration and self-reproach

that this Player here
 But in a fiction, in a dream of passion,
 Could force his soul so to his own conceit,
 That from her working all his visage wann'd;
 Tears in his eyes, distraction in's aspect
 . . . And all for nothing,
 For Hecuba.
 What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba,
 That he should weep for her? What would he do
 Had he the motive and that cause for passion
 That I have?

The player's speech and Hamlet's soliloquy ("O what a rogue and peasant slave am I") focus attention upon Hamlet's delay and at the same time acquaint us with an adequate reason:

The spirit that I have seen
 May be a Devil, and the Devil hath power
 T'assume a pleasing shape, yea, and perhaps,
 Out of my weakness, and my melancholy, . . .
 Abuses me to damn me.

To verify the accusation of the Ghost, he will probe Claudius to the quick with the Mouse Trap play.

A second time Shakespeare holds the mirror up to Hamlet in the scene in which the Prince questions the Captain about the identity and the military objectives of the Army of Fortinbras,

a delicate and tender Prince,
Whose spirit with divine ambition puff'd,
Makes mouths at the invisible event . . .
To all that fortune, death, and danger dare,
Even for an egg shell . . .
. . . for a plot . . .
Which is not tomb enough and continent
To hide the slain.

And once more self-reproachful, ("How all occasions do inform against me!") Hamlet asks,

How stand I then
That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd?

And once again he dedicates himself to revenge.

The third important norm which Shakespeare provides is in the conduct of Laertes, when he returns to Denmark after his father's death. In the mistaken belief that King Claudius is directly to blame, he raises rebellion and storms the royal palace. This Hamlet does not know at the time, for he has been shipped off to England, but he recognizes the parallel when he next meets Laertes—

by the image of my cause I see,
The portraiture of his

Thus the audience is reminded of what a virtuous and valiant son is expected to do for a father slain.

All three of these incidents are cancelled from the script of the picture. And in consequence the spectators are scarcely aware that delay occurs between the Ghost's revelation of the truth and the Mouse Trap scene. The deletion of the three incidents, and especially of the famous soliloquies which conclude the first and second, not only speeds the action but simplifies the character of Prince Hamlet. There is hardly a suggestion of that melancholy and disillusionment which paralyses action. And all question of the "honesty" of the Ghost is gone.

The doubts about the Ghost are not merely a reflection of Elizabethan speculations about Ghosts, of interest only to the antiquarian.

Shakespeare's contemporaries held strong and conflicting opinions on the subject, and we are intended to understand these various points of view and to sympathize with Hamlet's necessity to resolve his doubts before he risks Hell and Damnation by the impious and rebellious killing of his King.

Some Elizabethans believed (a) that ghosts were illusions of a disordered brain. In the first scene Marcellus cites the opinion of the learned Horatio: "'tis but our fantasie"; and in the Closet Scene, Gertrude tells Hamlet, "This is the very coinage of your brain"; and he replies, "My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time, And makes as healthfull music; it is not madnes That I have uttered, Bring me to the test." Others thought (b) that the Devil caused evil spirits to assume the appearance of the dead in order to tempt the living to a mortal crime: "The spirit that I have seene May be a Devil," says Hamlet, "and perhaps . . . Abuses me to damn me." And a third attitude (c) was that Ghosts were genuine and had returned to earth to ask a benefit, to disclose a threat to their country, or to reveal the location of buried treasure (see Horatio's speech, I. i. 130ff.; and Hamlet's decision after the Mouse Trap play, "O good Horatio, I'll take the Ghost's word for a thousand pound"). At one time or other all of these opinions are expressed in the play, and but for the doubts in Hamlet's mind he might have driven to his revenge without recourse to a play wherein to catch the conscience of the King. Granted that these opinions are not now current and that the deletion of them from the script makes comprehension of the picture easier for a modern audience, yet there is a loss in motivation. As things stand in the picture, the presentation in the Danish Court of a play, of this play, *The Murder of Gonzago*, is a casual accident, not an essential part of the warp and woof of the story. Indeed, the lines are cut so drastically at this point that a spectator who did not know the complete story would find it difficult to understand why a play is given at all and would be bewildered by the couplet Olivier shouts as he dashes wildly across the presence chamber,

The play's the thing

Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King.

How much easier to comprehend, if we had been permitted to hear Hamlet confide to Horatio:

Observe mine uncle! If his occulted guilt
Do not itself unkennel in one speech,
It is a damned ghost that we have seen.

It may be noted also that Hamlet's disappointment at the loss of the crown to his wily uncle ("popped in between me and the election") is soft-pedaled in the picture. In consequence, we fail to detect the menace in Claudius's determination to keep Hamlet at court under close observation instead of letting him return to Wittenberg; we are puzzled by the King's refusal to believe that Hamlet's extraordinary conduct, his "madness," is the product of disappointed love; for Claudius did suspect that his popular nephew was ambitious.

Shakespeare had two purposes in introducing Fortinbras into his play. One of these, his serving as a foil to Hamlet, has already been noted. The other purpose was to provide political continuity for Denmark. Fortinbras was so eminently eligible to succeed to the throne that Hamlet devotes some of his dying words to the prophecy that the election will go to him. Englishmen who in the bitter Wars of the Roses had learned the value of a peaceful succession to the crown found comfort and also esthetic satisfaction in the knowledge that the future of the state was secure. And the presence of Prince Fortinbras, who arrives in the nick of time to assume control of affairs and to assure that the dead Hamlet would not leave behind a maimed reputation, is an essential part of the tragic catharsis. We who live in a different tradition do not have this feeling about the continuity of the state, and so the omission of Fortinbras does not trouble us. It is interesting to note that as early as the time of Dryden producers were omitting Fortinbras and giving Horatio the closing speeches, as in this picture.

Along with Fortinbras, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are omitted from the picture, and with them goes some of the sardonic humor of the play—the incident of the recorders; their death in

England—and part of the evidence that Claudius is a “mighty opposite,” deadly in his scheming.

In a word, much of the complexity and subtlety of Hamlet's character has been edited out of the script, along with much of the richness and complexity of the story. What remains is magnificent action and splendid poetry, but this is not all of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

It must have grieved the producer and the textual editor to sacrifice the scenes and the great speeches that I have referred to. They call the picture a study in *Hamlet*; and so it is. I hope that they will in time resume the study and produce a still greater picture for a public that this present picture will have helped prepare to acclaim it.

Meanwhile, teachers of the play will profit by the opportunity afforded them to build on the nation-wide familiarity with the picture and to reveal to their classes some of the beauties of the play which are almost unavoidably cut in performance. Now that Hamlet has come alive for the millions, teachers will find it easier to reveal that this gallant Prince, whose mouth is filled with glorious verse, does indeed have “the courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword,” that he is truly “th' expectancy, and rose of the fair state,” and that “he was likely, had he been put on, To have proved most royally.”

The transfer of the play from the stage, where acts and scenes are plainly divided by an empty stage or a falling curtain, to the screen, where no such conventions exist, makes it possible to suggest that the action is continuous. And this effect is heightened by the trick of concluding the business of one group of characters and then moving the camera along the endless corridors of the Palace in search of the next group. Soon the audience forgets the structural members of the play (acts and scenes) and concentrates on the spectacle of uninterrupted action. Each event seems to follow on the heels of the one before it, and it is with a sense of shock that we hear Ophelia speak of “twice two months” in the Mouse Trap scene—until that instant we had thought that only a day or two had passed since Horatio first saw the Ghost. This trick of direction and photography has the incidental effect of removing almost every sugges-

tion of delay on Hamlet's part. It should be observed, however, that as the picture progresses, the illusion of continuous action is not consistently maintained. We move abruptly from one group to another, with fewer of the photographic transitions.

There are one or two technical flaws. The sound effects which have been dubbed in whenever the Ghost appears are so loud and confusing that the Ghost's lines are hard to understand. And the all-important crowing of the cock, which hastens the Ghost back to the grave, and which is specifically mentioned by Horatio, is never heard at all in the din of the sound track. And the camera must be charged with several sins. It moves about too much during the play within the play, making it difficult for the audience to watch Hamlet and Horatio as they search Claudius's face for signs of guilt. There is too much "atmosphere," too much fog, too many stairs. To this reviewer, at least, there is from time to time an unwelcome intrusion of photographic symbolism in a story to which it is foreign and which does not need it. What is in the text to warrant the focussing of the camera on an empty chair, a bed, a winding stair leading to a lonely platform? This alien attempt at symbolism is surely the only excuse for the long procession with Hamlet's body to the remote and lofty platform. Why take it there? Not for burial; not for exposure to the public eye; not, as required by the text, that someone may display it to the Danish public which had loved the Prince and acquaint them with the cause of the tragic events. The highest point in the picture is Horatio's speech that ends the play:

Good night, sweet prince,
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.

And as the camera moves behind the chair in which rests Hamlet's corpse, the picture should black out, as quietly, as simply, as Horatio's benediction.



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CURRENT FASHIONS IN HAMLET CRITICISM

By ROBERT M. SMITH

IT is inconceivable that Shakespeare's most popular tragedy should escape the current fashions of literary criticism. Possibly a review of these may serve to reveal how Shakespeare's *Hamlet* continues to mirror not only contending schools of criticism, but new patterns of meaning for our times.

Three fashions of Hamlet criticism are popular at the present writing: the *Historical*, the *Psycho-analytic*, and the *Impressionistic* or *Symbolist*.

THE HISTORICAL SCHOOL

In *A History of Hamlet Criticism* (1601-1821),¹ Professor Paul S. Conklin traces the trends of opinion from the first appearance of the play upon the stage and in print through the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century. A loyal pupil of Stoll's training in *Historical* criticism, he bends every effort in his survey to demonstrate that there is one "orthodox" Hamlet, which everyone presumably must accept, or else be regarded as an unhistoric, idle, and vain babbler, namely, the Hamlet of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century up to 1770. This Hamlet, rooted in early stage tradition, is a malcontent Kydian avenger, a strong, eloquent, heroic prince, rather than as the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth depicted him, an unheroic dreamer, consumed with melancholy, who allowed his "native hue of resolution" to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." Steele reported in 1709 that Betterton played the part as "a young man of great expectation, vivacity, and enterprise."

Professor Conklin is troubled by the profusion of comments by Hanmer, some of them with historical perspective, others "hope-

lessly absolute" (p. 56); yet wishing to include Hanmer as, on the whole, sound and orthodox, he rather lamely concludes: "However it is reasonable to believe that Hanmer's real Hamlet was most likely the heroic youth." Guthrie and Goldsmith are censured for comments of a hopeless "literary" nature, a tendency which ripened into the "New Hamlet" of William Richardson foreshadowed by Francis Gentleman.

In 1774 Richardson wrote *A Philosophical Analysis of Some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters*, an approach that involves definite "psychologizing,"—and presents an unfortunate prince paralysed by conflicting emotions, held back by moral scruples from avenging his father. Goethe, in *Wilhelm Meister*, sentimentalizes Hamlet still further, and Mackenzie and Robertson add discoveries of diversity in Hamlet, so that he becomes "a strange new psychologized figure" (p. 76). Edmund Malone, however, was not infected by these romantic heresies, nor was the actor, John Philip Kemble. It was, however, a far different critical instinct that dominated at the end of the century; for then one particular brand of undramatic, unhistorical criticism gained the ascendancy and produced the "New Hamlet."

Turning for a glance at French and German criticism, Professor Conklin stresses Voltaire's tirade against the barbarity and indecorum of *Hamlet*, and the treatment of Goethe who, in spite of his great critical gifts, gave "an absolute and unhistorical interpretation, bearing the limitations that must follow in the wake of all such flagrant impressionism."

During the years in England from 1820-21 the literary remarks of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Hunt gave full expression to the Romantic Hamlet—paradoxically above all acting genius on the stage—interpretations that worry Professor Conklin because in his opinion they threaten the artistic and histrionic integrity of the play.

Granted all the truth of Professor Conklin's conscientious historical survey, we may regret that his book is conceived and written in so partisan a spirit for the purpose of establishing an orthodox Ham-

let—or the “right” Hamlet—the Hamlet of historical tradition. In inveighing against “the personal estimate” or impressionism, he is unaware that “the historic estimate” is not necessarily, as Matthew Arnold pointed out, “the right estimate.” Disclaiming against a Romantic absolute, Professor Conklin embraces another, the absolute of Historical Relativism. Since the orthodox Hamlet is the 17th Century avenger and malcontent, must we hereafter dispense with the insights and the riches of Coleridge and of Goethe, of Hazlitt and of Lamb, of Bradley and Adams and all readers persuaded by the text that Hamlet discloses an inner life as vivid, compelling, and enthralling as his outward life? That is what Hamlet said about himself:

I have that within which passeth show
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.

Moreover, the Hamlet of inner problems and conflicts cannot be minimized, nor ignored, without doing violence to the text. It is easy to interpret Hamlet as an heroic and intrepid prince, a man of action rather than of thought, if we reject the full meaning of Hamlet's soliloquies; and it is in discussion of the soliloquies that Professor Conklin's study is bare and inadequate. We dare not slight these when we realize, as we should, that it was not Richardson, nor Coleridge and the Romantics, but Shakespeare who created Hamlet as a man of moody reflection repeatedly upbraiding himself. It was Shakespeare, too, not Coleridge, who wrote the soliloquies and for the specific dramatic purpose, among other purposes, of giving adequate motive for Hamlet's delay. He wonderfully made the repeated delays convincing by introducing the numerous self-reflecting and reproachful soliloquies in which Hamlet calls himself:

A dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak
Like, John-a-Dreams, unpregnant of my cause.

Furthermore, in the interchange with his father's Ghost in Act III Hamlet acknowledges his tardiness and foresees that the Ghost has returned to whet his almost blunted purpose. The Historical School, however, continues to maintain that there is no delay from inner difficulties, that Hamlet strikes in time, but Hamlet knew better than they; for what he says about his repeated procrastination and his

inabilities to explain it refute every contention that Hamlet's difficulties are wholly external.

So it turns out in fact that the Romantic point of view must also have been historically Shakespeare's. Shakespeare presented not a truncated Kydian man of action—but a comprehensive human being, a splendid prince, indeed, but full of inner perplexities. It is these very traits which the Historical School discards, that have endeared Hamlet to countless readers and spectators. Why should we trim him down to a mere "heroic figure"; why insist that the early historic stage presentation is the only "right" point of view? Though such attempts may have thrown Bradley into "the dark backward and abysm of time," they have not prevailed to the exclusion of other points of view.

Certainly no one who has seen Maurice Evans's full length rendition or his abbreviated G.I. *Hamlet* will have any doubts that the play is the most enthralling melodrama ever written for the stage. It fails, however, as does Sir Laurence Olivier's screen version, by reducing or eliminating the reflective and philosophical sides of Hamlet. As Dr. McManaway says, Sir Laurence Olivier fails to reveal his thesis that Hamlet is "a man who could not make up his mind." By curtailing or omitting the soliloquies we have just what the Historical School wishes—merely a melodramatic, heroic prince, but that was not the way Shakespeare wrote the play, or conceived the character of Hamlet, nor will such presentation satisfy for long an audience of Hamlet lovers. Granted that the G.I. *Hamlet* of Maurice Evans is wonderful theatre, who would forego, if he could, the Hamlet of Edwin Booth? Who would not go to see again Forbes Robertson or John Gielgud playing the whole Hamlet, or John Barrymore?

The Historical School prides itself on its "objectivity," in opposition to the "subjectivity" of the Romantics. For example, Professor Draper entitles his ambitious and thorough study, *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience* (1938); he throws valuable light by reinterpreting the characters in the light of Elizabethan psychological and social traditions and conventions, and resorts to a multitude of contemporary books to illustrate them. His assumption, however, is that there is such a pattern as the Elizabethan mind. What we have.

of course, is Professor Draper's conception of the Elizabethan mind.

Louise C. Turner Forest in an equally learned and penetrating essay sounds a *Caveat for Critics Invoking Elizabethan Psychology* which is worth recalling to those of us reared in the Historical School:

Elizabethan popular psychology was simply every man's private synthesis of observations of human behaviour understood in the light of whatever selections from whatever authorities appealed to him and, therefore, the overminute studies of our modern historical critics miss the truth by too-ingenious learning, and in their too-precise analysis ignore the actual Elizabethan situation and practice; and on the other hand, by oversimplifying and disregarding the very serious contrarieties in it, have missed the real nature of the thing they were investigating, have come to quite wrong conclusions about it and have presented us with an Elizabethan psychology that never existed . . . Indeed, so much erudite nonsense has been talked about "Elizabethan psychology" in the last quarter of a century that it has come to seem either mortal ignorance or scholarly apostasy to challenge it. We may no longer read the Elizabethans and Jacobeans for their plain poetical meanings; any phrase that speaks, however faulty, of souls and deeds, or of thoughts and feelings, we must interpret literally in terms of a mastered sixteenth century jargon.²

These dubious simplifications of Elizabethan psychology and social convention also turn out to be "Subjectivist."

The chief flaw, however, in the historical method is a failure to realize that Shakespeare as a poetic genius and dramatic artist was not merely a mouthpiece of contemporary fashion, but drew upon his own imaginative understanding of human life and reweave everything he derived into his own incomparable patterns. These patterns the Psychoanalytic and the Symbolist Schools attempt to reveal.

II

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC SCHOOL

What G. W. Stonier in his article "The Dark Passage" (*The New Statesman* and *The Nation*, December 6, 1947) terms the most

influential school of Hamlet criticism since Bradley's, appeared in Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) which was elaborated by his disciple, Dr. Ernest Jones, in his noted essay, "The Problem of Hamlet and the Oedipus Complex." The main theme of Hamlet, according to these psychoanalysts, is a highly elaborated and disguised account of a boy's love for his mother and consequent jealousy of and hatred towards his uncle. Hamlet, because he has a mother fixation, cannot fulfill the Ghost's command to kill Claudius, because the murder was a deed Hamlet himself had long harbored in his unconscious. The undertone of his feeling is built on an inner identification with an envy of his uncle's deeds, as revealed in his words, "unpregnant of my cause."

Dr. Jones's essay has now been made generally available in the first volume of the *Vision* series (1947), which contains a reprint of the Hamlet text with modern drawings by F. Roberts Johnson. Four of them, by kind permission of R. P. Friedman, are reproduced in this issue of the Bulletin with comments by the artist and poet, Cloyd M. Criswell. They "breathe out the sombre menace of the tragedy, 'the very witching time of night'."

Dr. Frederic Wertham, Senior Psychiatrist in the New York Hospitals, in a contribution entitled "The Matricidal Impulse,"³ takes issue with the Freud-Jones interpretation. He restudied the play in the light not of "patricidal" drive but of consuming hostility against the mother. The matricidal theme can be demonstrated from the text far more plausibly than the patricidal theory. Hamlet is a version rather of the Orestes Complex—much more closely parallel to Orestes' murder of his mother, Clytemnestra, than to Oedipus. An astonishing case that came under the observation of Dr. Wertham, the Italian boy, Gino, who viciously stabbed his mother to death, led Dr. Wertham to write an extended analysis in his *The Dark Legend, A Study in Murder*,⁴ drawing graphic parallels from Hamlet and Orestes.

Against critics of the Historical School who inveigh against such "anachronism" and modern "psychologizing" and raise the objection that Hamlet is not and never was a living personality, Dr. Wertham answers: "Literature is not the opposite of human social life; it is an

important part of it. The story of Hamlet may be fictitious, but its content is true."

Lest we cast aside too readily at this point the psychoanalytic approach to literature, we may well read Lionel Trilling's critical estimate of its values and limitations in "Freud and Literature."⁵ In reviewing the Freud-Jones interpretation of *Hamlet*, he contends against its disparagers that "it is the only systematic account of the human mind which in point of subtlety and complexity, of interest and tragic power, deserves to stand beside the chaotic mass of psychological insights which literature has accumulated through the centuries."

The difficulty, however, with the psychological approach is to find agreement amid the profusion of psychiatrists; for, as Dr. Wertham concedes, "practically every functional mental disorder has been adduced at one period or another by psychiatrists as the solution of *Hamlet*. He has been described as having a psychosis and recovering during the play; developing a psychosis during the play; as merely malingering; as malingering and insane as well; as malingering and becoming insane during the play; as suffering from: hysteria, neurasthenia, hystero-neurasthenia, compulsive neurosis, manic-depressive psychosis, mania feigned by a melancholic, melancholia, *melancholia attonita*, melancholic monomania, schizophrenia, schizophrenia feigned by an introvert, dementia praecox, schizoid personality, psychopathic personality, degeneracy; as a *déséquilibré*."

III

THE IMPRESSIONISTS AND SYMBOLISTS

Third are the Impressionists and Symbolists, who have recently become the most vocal of our Shakespeare critics. Deriving their inspiration principally from G. Wilson Knight's series of works, beginning with *The Wheel of Fire* (1930), they believe, without regard to tradition, text or Elizabethan source materials, that Shakespeare was not of an age but for all time; and that the real meaning of his plays can be divined by tracing out by "insight" the underlying

patterns and poetic symbols. These so-called "New" Critics: Eliot, who long ago pronounced *Hamlet* "an artistic failure," Ransom, Tate, Cleanth Brooks in America, and L. C. Knights, F. R. Leavis and D. A. Traversi in England, have already been trenchantly dealt with in Oscar James Campbell's "Shakespeare and the 'New' Critics."⁶

Professor Campbell demonstrates that Shakespeare's imagination found expression in a "medley of metaphors," each one relevant only to some specific emotional situation rather than in an "integrated structure" or pattern for a whole play. Without reference to historical setting criticism is left wide open to endless preposterous vagaries. The free-ranging intuitions of G. Wilson Knight, for example, reduce the lovable Hamlet to the principle of Evil. Hamlet is the negative spirit of the Devil, Claudius, the wholesome positive principle of Good. Further degradation of Hamlet into a sort of contemptible Spaniard may be found in de Madariaga's *On Hamlet* (1948), reviewed in this issue.

Finally, to confound these Symbolists among themselves, comes another, Roy Walker, who in his address to the Shakespeare Club of Stratford, discovers symbols the very reverse of Knight's. *Hamlet* is the exact reflection of our own troubled times: Hamlet is the moral ideal, Claudius, the atom bomb!

"The only true 'Hamlet,' is one in which all the images are reconciled into significant harmony" To the philosophy of relative values the world seems tolerable enough to the Prince inspired with more absolute criteria it is a prison.

We all know that the time is out of joint. While we talk of art and life, some of our fellows are making the night joint-labourer with the day, fashioning the weapons of atomic and bacteriological warfare, and we begin to accept that as 'normal,' as 'commonsense,' as one of the necessary 'uses of this world.' Our Western civilisation is terribly like the Elsinore of Claudius, and a great writer who died a few years ago, Max Plowman, said:; "Hamlet is self-conscious man encompassed by a world of violence that demands of him the

traditional response of violence. The nations of Europe are now self-conscious entities surrounded by violence and individually incapable of imagination; our world, in fact, is the world of Hamlet; a world that has suffered injury and cries out for justice."

Into this world, comes Shakespeare's Hamlet, a spirit warning us that the threat is less from without than from within. We are summoned instead to the ordeal of imagination, promised that fidelity to what imagination perceives is redemption.

The world of Claudius is poisoned and doomed. Those who take their cue from the conscienceless rulers of this world are doomed also. Much youth and innocence will be destroyed by the poison and by the corruption of disciplines in themselves healthy and loyalties in themselves necessary. Over against this world is the vision 'in the mind's eye' of a glory that was and is not. This vision is derided, persecuted, attacked on all sides, and may be destroyed altogether. Unavoidably it becomes corrupted fighting back with the world's own weapons. Salvation lies in the effort to remain aware, to suffer the slings and arrows, out of such suffering nobly endured emerges a divine spontaneity: "The readiness is all."

The Ghost is a symbol of a power greater than the usurper Claudius . . . The Ghost is transformed in the eyes of the suffering hero from an armed warrior demanding revenge to a kindly father whose look moves his son to shed tears instead of blood.

Apparently there are as many symbolists disagreeing about the symbolic meaning of *Hamlet* as psychoanalysts about Hamlet's complex. All readers continue to find themselves in Shakespeare's universal tragedy.

Lehigh University.

¹King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1947.

²PMLA, LXI, 3, September, 1946, pp. 651 ff

³Journal of Criminal Psychopathology, II, 4, April, 1941.

⁴Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1941

⁵The Kenyon Review, Spring, 1941

⁶Adams Memorial Studies, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948.



ILLUSTRATION BY F ROBERTS JOHNSON FOR THE VISION PRESS, LTD.,
EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*



HAMLET'S "ALL BUT BLUNTED PURPOSE"

By GEORGE DETMOLD

EVERY critic has his own *Hamlet*. A classic, presumably, appeals to all ages and interests of critics just as it does to other varieties of men. The following remarks on the play are offered in respectful awareness of many an older, contradictory, and valuable theory upon it—but if they are logical and if they provide any insight into it they should also be of some value. Rightly or wrongly, they are not concerned with the question of Shakespeare's sources. They attempt to explain the play from the spectator's point of view rather than from the scholar's—for the playwright cannot expect his audience to consult his sources in order to understand what he has written. It must make sense as it stands, it must be explicable in its own terms, if it is to succeed. And few will question the success of *Hamlet*, in spite of the considerable disagreement over the character of the protagonist.

Hamlet is surely the most perplexing character in English drama. Who has not sympathized with the Court of Denmark in their bewilderment at his mercurial conduct? Theatre-goers, to be sure, are seldom baffled by him; perhaps the spectacle and melodrama of his undoing are powerful enough to stifle any mere doubts about his motives. But the more dispassionate audience of scholars and critics—if one may judge from the quantity of their published remarks—are often baffled. Seeking an intellectual satisfaction which will correspond to the pleasant purging of pity and terror in the spectator, they are only perplexed by Hamlet's behavior. They fail to understand his motives. How can a man so dilatory, who misses every opportunity to achieve what apparently he desires, who requires nearly three months to accomplish a simple and well-justified killing—how can such a man be classed a tragic hero? Is he not merely

weak and contemptible? How can he be ranked with such forceful men as Lear, Macbeth, Othello, or even Romeo? And yet he is a great tragic hero, as the playgoers will testify. The spectacle of his doings and undoing is profoundly stirring; it rouses the most intense emotions of awe and admiration; it never moves us to scorn or contempt.

In order to understand Hamlet, we must be able to answer the old question about him: "Why does he delay?"¹ Granting—as he does—that he has sufficient "cause, and will, and strength, and means" to avenge his father, why should he require approximately three months to do so, and then succeed almost purely by accident or afterthought?² There is only one possible reason why a strong, vigorous, intelligent man does not kill another when he feels no revulsion against the deed, when his duty requires that he do it, when he is not afraid, when the man to be killed is not invulnerable, and when the consequences of the act are either inconsiderable or are not considered at all. Hamlet delays to kill his uncle only because he has little interest in doing so. His thoughts are elsewhere. Most of the time he forgets about it, as we forget about a letter that should be answered—and only occasionally does he remember it and ponder his reluctance to perform this simple duty. Rightly or wrongly, he is preoccupied with other things.

Yet revenge, especially when it entails murder, is a tremendously important affair; how can any man overlook it? What kind of man can consider what kind of thing more important? Is Hamlet in any way unique, beyond or above or apart from our experience of human nature? Let us examine him as a man and—more important—as a tragic hero.

We must realize that there is nothing curious or abnormal about him. He is recognizably human; he is not diseased or insane.³ If this were not so he would rouse no admiration in an audience, for it will never accord to a sick or crazy man the allegiance it usually gives to the tragic hero. The normal attitude toward abnormality is one of aversion. We worship strength and health and power, and will identify ourselves with the hero who displays these qualities. We may even identify ourselves with a Lear during his temporary insanity, but only because we have known him sane and can appreciate the

magnitude of his disaster. For the Fool who is his companion we can feel only a detached and tender compassion. Hamlet rouses stronger emotions than these, and only because we can recognize ourselves in him, because he is in the finest sense a universal man: *Homo sapiens*, man thinking—and man feeling, man acting. The proper habitat of the freak is the side-show or museum, not the stage.

But within this humanity and universality we may distinguish three characteristics which are usually found in the tragic hero. The first of these is a will-power surpassing in its intensity anything displayed by average men; the hero admits of no obstacle and accepts no compromise; he drives forward with all his strength to his desired goal. The second is a power of feeling likewise more intense than that possessed by average men; he rises to heights of happiness forever unattainable to the majority of us, and correspondingly sinks to depths of misery. The third is an unusually high intelligence, displayed in his actions and in his power of language. Aristotle sums up these characteristics in the term *hamartia*: the tragic flaw, the failure of judgment, the refusal to compromise. Passionately pursuing the thing he desires, the hero is incapable of compromise, of the calm exercise of judgment.

It will be seen that Hamlet possesses these three characteristics. His power of feeling surpasses that of all other characters in the play, expresses itself in the impassioned poetic diction peculiar to great tragedy. His intelligence is subtle and all-embracing, displaying itself not only in his behavior but also in word-plays beyond the comprehension of the others in the drama, and in metaphors beyond their attainment. But what can be said of his will-power, the one pre-eminently heroic characteristic? He is apparently a model of hesitation, indecision, procrastination; we seem to be witnessing an examination of the failure of his will. And yet demonstrably it has not failed, and does at odd moments stir itself violently. In no other way can we account for the timidity of his enemies, the respect of his friends, and his own frank acknowledgement that he has "cause, and will, and strength, and means" to avenge his father. And though he is a long time in killing Claudius, he does kill him at last, and he is capable of other actions which argue the rash and impulsive nature of a man with strong will. He will "make a ghost" of any man who tries to prevent him from following his father's spirit. He murders

Polonius. He engineers the murder of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. He boards the pirate ship single-handed. He takes so long to kill Claudius only because he has little interest in revenge—not because he lacks will, but because it is inactive. Will-power does not spread itself in a circle around the possessor, but lies in a straight line toward the thing he desires.

Hamlet, then, has the heroic traits of Lear, Othello, Tamburlaine, Macbeth, and Oedipus: high intelligence, deep sensitivity, and strong will. There is another characteristic of the tragic hero without which the former ones would never be perceived: his delusion that there is some one thing in the world supremely good or desirable, the possession of which will make him supremely happy. And to the acquisition of the thing he desires he devotes all his will, all his intelligence, all his power of feeling. Thus Romeo dedicates himself to the pursuit of love, Macbeth to power, Lear to filial gratitude—and Hamlet to moral beauty.⁵

Hamlet's dedication to moral beauty is not difficult to perceive; and once understood, it explains his every action in the play. It is probably an unusual subject for devotion: love, honor, power, wealth, intellectual supremacy are the more customary idols of the tragic hero. Yet Hamlet seems a more normal character than Coriolanus or Barabas, and a more sympathetic one than Macbeth or Othello. There should be nothing unusual in a preoccupation with morality, since man is a moral animal as well as a greedy, a passionate, or an intelligent one. And there is nothing harsh or unlovely in Hamlet's conception of the good. He is no Puritan. What he seeks among men is not mere compliance with religious and ethical standards, but a moral loveliness in their thoughts and actions. Men, in his conception, are godlike; they should not conduct themselves like beasts. "What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god!"—whether the words are spoken in seriousness or in irony they argue a deep-seated idealism in their author.

It is clear that, at some point before the opening of the play, Hamlet has been completely disillusioned. He has failed to discover moral beauty in the world; indeed, by the intensity of his search he

has roused instead his supreme evil: moral ugliness. The majority of us, the non-heroes, might disapprove of the sudden remarriage of a mother after the death of her husband—but we would probably not be nauseated. Hamlet, supremely sensitive to the godliness and beastliness in men, was overwhelmed by what he could interpret as nothing but lust. To be sure, the marriage of his mother and uncle was technically incestuous. But his objection to it lies much deeper than surface technicalities. He has worshipped his father, adored his mother (his love for her is everywhere apparent beneath his bitterness). Gertrude has mourned at the funeral "like Niobe, all tears." And then within a month she has married his uncle—a vulgar, contemptible, scheming drunkard⁶—exposing without shame her essentially shallow, thoughtless, amoral, animal nature.

The blow has been too much for Hamlet, sensitive as he is to moral beauty.

O, most wicked speed, to post
With such dexterity to incestuous sheets!
It is not, nor it cannot come to good.

That is, it cannot come to his conception of the good, whatever may be said for Gertrude's. He is unable to offer her understanding or sympathy, since to do so would mean compromising with his ideal of her. He fails to realize that no amount of scolding will ever improve her. Instead of accepting her conduct as inevitable or even endurable, he fights it, exaggerates it into a disgusting and an intolerable sin against everything he holds dear.⁷ And because the sin may not be undone, and since it has destroyed his pleasure and purpose in living, he wishes to die. The only thing that restrains him from suicide is the moral injunction against it:

O that this too too sullied flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew,
Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter.

The longing for death, once the supreme good has been destroyed, is entirely normal and usual in the tragic hero. Romeo, hearing that

Juliet is dead, goes immediately to her tomb in order to kill himself:

O, here
Will I set up my everlasting rest
And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars
From this world-wearied flesh. . . .
Thou desperate pilot, now at once run on
The dashing rocks thy sea-sick weary bark.

Othello, when he realizes that in seeking to preserve his honor he has ruined it, prepares to die in much the same state of mind:

Here is my journey's end, here is my butt
And very sea-mark of my utmost sail.

Macbeth, discovering at last that his frantic efforts to maintain and increase his power have only destroyed it, finds life a tale told by an idiot—and he too longs for death:

I 'gin to be a-weary of the sun,
And wish the estate of the world were now undone.
Ring the alarum bell. Blow wind, come wrack,
At least we'll die with harness on our back.

Lear, instead of dying, is driven mad.⁸ His counterpart, Gloucester, who also has lived for the love of his children, tries to throw himself from the cliff at Dover. Oepidus, too, when he discovers that he has ruined the city he tried to save, finds life worthless—blinds himself, and begs to be cast out of Thebes. As a general rule, whenever the tragic hero discovers that in his efforts to attain his supreme good he has only aroused his supreme evil, he kills himself, or goes mad, or otherwise sinks into a state that is death compared to his former state. Once he has lost all hope of gaining what he desires, he quite naturally finds no reason for continuing to live. Life in itself is always meaningless to him; he lives only for the good that he can find in it.

The curious thing about *Hamlet* is that it begins at the point where most other tragedies end: with the discovery by the tragic hero that his supreme good is forever lost to him. The play is surely unique among great tragedies. Elizabethan drama usually presents a double reversal of fortune—the rise and fall in the hero's prosperity

and happiness—or sometimes, as in *King Lear*, the fall and rise. Greek tragedy, limited to a single curtainless stage and thus to a late point of attack in the plot, could show only a single reversal—usually the fall in fortune from prosperity to misery, as is observed by Aristotle. But certainly nowhere else is there a tragedy like *Hamlet*, with no reversal at all, which begins after the rise and fall of the hero have taken place, in which the action does not coincide with his pursuit of the good, and which presents him throughout in despair and in bad fortune. We never see Hamlet striving for or possessing his good. Rather, he knows only the evil which is its counterpart; and in this unhappy condition he finds nothing further desirable except death. The kingship does not interest him; love does not interest him; revenge never interests him for long. He can think only about the foulness of mankind, of the beastly conduct of those people from whom he has expected the most goodly—and in his despair he is intensely unhappy. Death, he knows, will be his only release. We find him longing for death at the outset of the play, in his first speech to us. Death is continually on his mind until he finally attains it at the end, the only "felicity" of which life is capable.

We are now in a position to understand why Hamlet takes so long to effect his revenge. Everyone in the play, including himself, recognizes that he is potentially dangerous, that he has the necessary courage and will to accomplish anything he desires. But the demand upon these qualities has come at a time when he has forever lost interest in exercising them. Upholding the divinity of man, he is betrayed by the one he thought most divine, exposed to her rank shameless adultery, bitterly disillusioned in all mankind, and desperate of any further good in existence. The revelation by the Ghost that murder has cleared a way for the new husband shocks Hamlet to the base of his nature, but it gives him no new incentive for living; it merely adds to his misfortune and confirms him in his despair. The further information that his mother has committed adultery provides a final shock. All evidence establishes him immovably in his disillusion. The Ghost's appeal to him for revenge is, remotely, an appeal to his good: if he may not re-establish the moral beauty of the world he may at least punish those who have violated it. But it is a distant appeal. The damage already done is irreparable. After giving passionate promises to "remember" his father, he regrets them:

The time is out of joint; O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right.

Within ten minutes after his first meeting with the Ghost he has succumbed again to his anguish, which is now so intense after the discovery of his mother's adultery and the murder of his father that his mind threatens to crack under the strain. His conversation with his friends is so strange that Horatio comments upon it:

These are but wild and whirling words, my lord.

A few minutes later Hamlet announces his intention to feign madness, to assume an "antic disposition"—presumably as a means of relieving his surcharged feelings and possibly forestalling true madness, but certainly not as a means of deceiving Claudius and thus accomplishing his revenge.⁹ At the moment there is no point in deceiving Claudius, who knows of no witnesses to the murder and who is more vulnerable to attack now than he will be at any point later in the play.

Two months later the antic disposition has succeeded only in arousing the King's suspicions. Hamlet has not effected his revenge; there is no sign that he has even thought about it. All we know is that he is badly upset—as Ophelia reports to her father:

My lord, as I was sewing in my closet,
Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all unbrac'd,
No hat upon his head, his stockings foul'd,
Ungartered and down-gyved to his ancle,
Pale as his shirt, his knees knocking each other,
And with a look so piteous in purport
As if he had been loosed out of hell
To speak of horrors, he comes before me,

It is doubtful that he wishes to deceive the court into thinking that he is mad with unrequited love—only the fool Polonius is so deceived. Most probably he goes to Ophelia because he loves her as he loves his mother, and fears to discover in her the same corruption that has poisoned his mind towards Gertrude. He suspects that her love for him is insincere; his suspicions are later reinforced when he

catches her acting as the decoy of Claudius and Polonius.¹⁰ But the one significant thing here is that his mind is still upon his old sorrow and not upon his father.

He does not recall his father until the First Player, in reciting the woes of Troy, speaks of the "mobled queen" who

saw Pyrrhus make malicious sport
In mincing with his sword her husband's limbs.

Shortly afterwards Hamlet asks him to "play the Murder of Gonzago" and to "study a speech of some dozen lines, which I would set down and insert in 't." This, as we learn in the following soliloquy, is to be a trap for the conscience of Claudius. And why is a trap necessary? Because perhaps the Ghost was not a true ghost, but a devil trying to lure him to damnation. Most likely Hamlet is here rationalizing, trying to find an excuse for his dilatoriness, for forgetting the injunction of his father¹²—yet the excuse is a poor one, for never before has he questioned the authenticity of the Ghost. Furthermore, he does not wait for the trap to be sprung; throughout the performance of "The Mousetrap" he seems convinced of the guilt of Claudius, he taunts him with it.¹³ But for a while he has stilled his own conscience and found a refuge from the flood of self-incrimination.

Before "The Murder of Gonzago" is enacted we see Hamlet alone once more. What is on his mind? His uncle? His father? Revenge? Not at all. "To be, or not to be, that is the question." He is back where he started, and where he has been all along, with

The heart-ache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to.

He is still preoccupied with death.

"The Mousetrap" convicts Claudius beyond any doubt; he bolts from the room, unable to endure for a second time the poisoning of a sleeping king. And yet Hamlet, fifteen minutes later, with an admirable opportunity to kill his uncle, fails to do so—for reasons that are evidently obscure even to himself.¹⁴ He wishes, he says, not only to kill the man, but to damn his soul as well, and thus will wait to kill him unconfessed. At this, apparently, the Ghost itself loses

patience, for it returns once more to Hamlet in the next scene and exhorts him:

Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.

The exhortation is wasted. On the same night, Hamlet allows the King to send him to England. Possibly he has no recourse but obedience; probably he knows what is in store for him; quite likely he does not care, may even welcome a legitimate form of dying; certainly he cannot, in England, arrange to kill his uncle. The next day, on his way to exile and death, he meets the army of Fortinbras, whose courage and purposefulness stimulate him to reflect upon his own conduct:

How all occasions do inform against me,
And spur my dull revenge!

He considers how low he has sunk in his despair:

What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more.

Lamenting nothing in men so much as their beastliness, he has become little better than a beast himself. Why has he not performed the simple act of vengeance required by his dead father? He does not know:

Now, whether it be
Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,—
A thought which, quartered, hath but one part wisdom
And ever three parts coward,—I do not know
Why yet I live to say 'This thing's to do,'
Sith I have cause, and will, and strength, and means
To do 't.

He is ashamed to have forgotten his duty:

How stand I then,
That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd,
Excitements of my reason and my blood,
And let all sleep . . . ?

And with the resolve:

O, from this time forth,
My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth!

he is off for England, where even the bloodiest thoughts will be utterly of no avail.

When he returns he is unchanged, still preoccupied with death. He haunts the graveyard with Horatio, reflects upon the democratizing influence of corruption. Overcome with disgust at the "rant" at Ophelia's funeral (he has seen too much insincerity at funerals), he wrestles with Laertes. He acquaints Horatio with the crimes of Claudius and resolves to revenge himself—and then accepts the invitation to the fencing match, aware that it is probably a trap, but resigned to whatever fate is in store for him. And with the discovery of his uncle's final perfidy, he stabs him with the envenomed foil and forces the poisoned wine down his throat. But there is still no thought of his father or of the accomplishment of an old purpose. He is stirred to action principally by anger at his mother's death:

Here, thou incestuous, murderous, damned Dane,
Drink off this potion: is thy union here?
Follow my mother.

The murder of Claudius is simply accomplished. We see how easily it could have been managed at any time in the past by a man like Hamlet, with whatever tools might have come to his hand.¹⁶ Even though the King is fully awake to his peril he is powerless to avert it. The only thing necessary is that Hamlet should at some time choose to kill him.

That Hamlet finally does so choose is the result of accident and afterthought. The envenomed foil, the poisoned wine, Laertes and

Gertrude and himself betrayed to their deaths—these things finally arouse him and he strikes out at the King. But he has no sense of achievement at the end, no final triumph over unimaginable obstacles. His uncle, alive or dead, is a side-issue. His dying thoughts are of the blessedness of death and of the sanctity of his reputation—he would clear it of any suggestion of moral evil but realizes that he has no time left to do so himself. Accordingly he charges Horatio to stay alive a little while longer:

Absent thee from felicity a while,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
To tell my story.

Then, after willing the kingdom to Fortinbras, he sinks into the oblivion which he has courted so long, and which now comes to him honorably and gives him rest.

Wells College

¹Some critics believe that Hamlet does not delay at all. George Lyman Kittredge acquits him of procrastination, since immediately after his promise to the Ghost he adopts the device of madness as a "detective agency," under cover of which he stalks his uncle. When it fails to produce evidence of the Ghost's veracity, he seizes the next opportunity for testing the King: the play within the play. He cannot kill Claudius at prayers without appearing an assassin, and he has no other opportunity to do so until the end of the play. *Hamlet*, ed. Kittredge, Boston, 1939, pp. xiii-xiv.

John Erskine Hankins also finds Hamlet not guilty of delay, because the Ghost requires of him a two-fold action: revenge upon Claudius and reform of Gertrude. The revenge could be accomplished immediately, but not without endangering the project of reform, which takes much careful consideration and is not effected until III, iv. Thus Hamlet does not delay unduly; he merely takes a not-unreasonable amount of time to work out a difficult problem. *The Character of Hamlet*, University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. 18-28.

These two theories seem conjectural at best. Neither of them accounts for Hamlet's belief that he does delay.

²A. C. Bradley classifies and refutes a large number of answers to this problem. *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London, 1937, pp. 91-108.

³Bradley, pp. 120-123, maintains that Hamlet suffers from a pathological melancholia which no exertion of the will can dispel. In this condition he is incapable of anything except purely impulsive action.

J. Dover Wilson compromises with the issue, believing that Hamlet is both mad and sane at the same time, the victim of a mental disorder and yet morally responsible for his actions. If this sounds impossible to us, we are enjoined to remember that Hamlet is not a real man, but only a dramatic illusion. *What Happens in Hamlet*, Cambridge University Press, 1935, pp. 205-229.

"Wilson, p. 226, speaks of Hamlet's "inability to perform that on which his mind is set, that which he wills . . ." as a consequence of his melancholy. But a man with so weak a will that he does not even struggle for what he desires is certainly no hero. It seems likely then, if Hamlet is really a tragic hero, that he simply does not wish to kill Claudius. His mind is on other things: his mother, and his disillusion in her and consequently in all men and in life itself.

⁸Cf. the commentary of Joseph Quincy Adams in his edition of *Hamlet*, Boston, 1929, pp. 193 ff. "The young Prince possesses to a fatal extent *idealism regarding human nature*."

"This is Claudius as he appears to his nephew. Kittredge, however, finds him a "superb figure," clear-sighted, eloquent, dignified, courageous, self-controlled, intellectually the equal of Hamlet, capable of a great crime of passion for the Queen he loves sp. xviii ff.

The theory is attractive, it yields an exciting production like Margaret Webster's. But it does not account for the contempt in which Hamlet holds his uncle, nor for Horatio's tacit agreement in this contempt, nor for Gertrude's acquiescence in it, nor for the Ghost's judgment "a wretch whose natural gifts were poor to those of mine!" If Claudius is truly a superb figure, then much of Hamlet's condemnation of Gertrude loses its point—her taste in adultery would not be entirely regrettable. Our confidence in Hamlet would suffer if we saw him make so conspicuously bad a judgment upon the King.

⁹Caroline Spurgeon notes how Hamlet's disgust poisons his mind and colors his language. He sees the whole world stricken with a foul disease. There are in *Hamlet* more images of sickness, disease, and medicine than in any other of Shakespeare's plays. "We are almost startled at the constant conception of a corrupt and hidden tumour or cancer which is the central imaginative symbol of the tragedy." *Shakespeare's Imagery*, Cambridge University Press, 1939, Chart VII

¹⁰Note the parallel between his condition and Hamlet's. Each of them, driven to despair, finds in madness—or in simulated madness—an outlet for a surge of feeling that is too powerful for normal modes of expression.

¹¹Hankins, pp. 38-44, interprets the antic disposition as a planned effort, like "The Mousetrap," to force Claudius into revealing his guilt. The seemingly mad utterances will have relevance only to the King, who will eventually betray himself as he does in the play-scene. But there is no evidence that Hamlet so planned his madness, it seems rather to have been forced upon him by the urgency with which his passion demands an outlet—emotional rather than rational in origin.

Kittredge, p. xiii, likewise maintains that the feigned madness is an effort to trap the King. "We speak unguardedly in the presence of children and madmen, for we take it for granted that they will not listen or will not understand, and so the King and Queen (for Hamlet does not know that his mother is ignorant of her husband's crime) may say something that will afford the evidence needed to confirm the testimony of the Ghost." This theory is also untenable. Hamlet never gives it as his object in pretending madness, he never eavesdrops, he never tries to trap Claudius in a confession of guilt until III. ii. If it is his object, it is certainly a foolish one, since he pursues it for two months with a constantly diminishing prospect of success.

The comments of J. Q. Adams, p. 229, are much to the point "[Hamlet] made no serious attempt to convince others that he was mad; indeed, he seems hardly to have cared whether they thought him mad or not."

¹²Harley Granville-Barker demonstrates convincingly that Hamlet is aware of Claudius and Polonius behind the arras, and that he is thereby made certain that Ophelia is in league with them. *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Princeton University Press, 1946, I. 77-79.

¹³The point is crucial in most interpretations of the play. Kittredge, among many others, disagrees with this explanation, maintaining that Hamlet has sincerely doubted the identity of the Ghost from the beginning, and may not proceed with his revenge until he has certain proof of his uncle's guilt. Pp. xi-xiv. If this is true, however, one

would like to know at what point Hamlet changed his first opinion of the Ghost: "It is an honest ghost, that let me tell you." Furthermore, there is no valid reason why—if he doubts the Ghost—he should wait two months before testing Claudius, and no good explanation of his failure to kill him once guilt is established. One would think that after the play-scene, and after two months of watchful waiting, Hamlet would draw his sword and rush upon the King. But what occurs instead?—more temporizing, another excuse.

¹⁴Cf. Granville-Barker, pp. 90-91. This is further evidence that he does not truly doubt the identity of the Ghost, for otherwise he could not prejudge Claudius.

¹⁵This scene (III. iii), generally recognized as the turning point in the action and one of the most critical scenes in the play, is variously interpreted. Very few critics agree about what it means, it can be made to support any interpretation of the play. What happens here is that Hamlet, presented with an admirable opportunity for killing his uncle, fails to take advantage of it. His explicit reason is that Claudius, killed at prayer, will go to heaven—and heaven is too good for him, he should be killed unconfessed and sent to hell.

If Hamlet's words can be taken at their face value, he wants not only revenge but perfect revenge. Claudius must die and burn as the elder Hamlet has died and burned. But it is difficult to construe this desire as an excuse for his delay—because the Ghost never asks for perfect revenge and Hamlet never mentions it before or after this scene. The Ghost, indeed, returns a hundred lines later to rebuke Hamlet for procrastination. Claudius actually is killed unconfessed at the end of the play, but the manner of his death produces no perceptible satisfaction in his murderer. Consequently one cannot accept Hamlet's words at their face value, though what may be his precise motive for speaking them is difficult to determine. He seems to be rationalizing, finding another excuse for delay. He assumes that he can dispatch his uncle at any time he chooses—but just now he does not choose to do so. And his action here—or his inaction—is surely just as significant as his words are. *he does not kill Claudius*. The opportunity is faultless (or so we would think on the basis of all evidence so far): but he finds fault.

¹⁶Kittredge, p. xvi, finds this the first moment in the play (after III. iii) when Hamlet has Claudius at his mercy: the King is "well guarded and Hamlet is under surveillance"—although "the guards do not always appear on the stage." But surely Claudius is at Hamlet's mercy throughout the play. This is what makes the King so exquisitely anxious. It is the work of two seconds to draw one's sword and kill a man, Hamlet is armed and boasts of the ease with which he could kill Claudius: "And a man's life no more than to say 'One'."

If bodyguards will not save Claudius at the end they will not save him anywhere. Laertes broke through them and could have dispatched him easily in IV. v. Hamlet nowhere complains that he can't get at his uncle, his only lament is that he neglects to do so.



HORATIO'S HAMLET

BY J. DUNCAN SPAETH

Thou liv'st. Report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied.

THESE words of dying Hamlet suggest that he, or better his creator, foresaw the varying judgments that posterity would pass upon his character and his cause. These conflicting judgments, stained with the variation of each soil through which the mind of literary or theatrical interpreter has passed, have left and still leave dissenters vexed and unsatisfied. The truth is, there are varying judgments because the play itself portrays various, variable, and sometimes seemingly inconsistent Hamlets, presenting the facets of his complex personality as reflected in the mirror which the other characters of the play hold up to his nature. The enigma of his behavior, the puzzle of his "meaning" is complicated by the change,—"transformation" Claudius calls it—resulting from the revelation made by the ghost. Not only is he a different Hamlet in different situations, and in the presence of such different characters as Ophelia, his mother, Polonius, Claudius, but for a large part of his time his words and acts are calculated mystifications, intended not to reveal but to conceal his true self. We must accordingly distinguish between Hamlet masked, and Hamlet unmasked: between Polonius's Hamlet, Ophelia's Hamlet, Gertrude's Hamlet, the Players' Hamlet, Osric's Hamlet, Hamlet's Hamlet of the soliloquies, and Horatio's Hamlet.

Though there were depths and doubts, dark and devious passages in Hamlet's nature that plain straight-forward Horatio could never trace or fathom, the dying words of Hamlet indicate that Shakespeare intends us, if not to understand Hamlet as mirrored by Horatio, (Horatio is no psycho-analyst) at least to judge him and his cause aright in the defense delivered by his friend. In Horatio's Hamlet

Horatio: A truant disposition, good my lord.
 Hamlet: I would not hear your enemy say so,
 Nor shall you do my ear that violence,
 To make it truster of your own report
 Against yourself: I know you are no truant.
 But what is your affair in Elsinore?

Note that this conversation occurs immediately after Hamlet's soliloquy, "O, that this too, too solid flesh would melt" with its physical revulsion against the "carnal" infection of the world.

Fie on't! Oh fie, fie! 'Tis an unweeded garden,
 That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
 Possess it merely.

Horatio's presence momentarily dispels Hamlet's morbid mood. Evidently Hamlet has not seen Horatio for sometime but he quickly recognizes him. "Horatio, or do I forget myself." They have been fellow-students at Wittenberg. Claudius has refused Hamlet permission to return.

For your intent
In going back to school in Wittenberg.
 It is most retrograde to our desire.

Laertes, the man of the world, the gay courtier, goes to France. Hamlet, the student, goes to Germany to study at the University made famous by Martin Luther. No wonder the Germans have shown a special interest in explaining Hamlet's "Weltanschauung"! Did they not consider themselves responsible for his education?

Note also the emphasis on the "democracy" of a college friendship in this meeting between Hamlet and Horatio. Hamlet, a prince of the blood, rich and distinguished, (Ophelia's Renaissance prince); Horatio poor, with no revenue but his good spirits, a commoner with no influential connections, but both *gentlemen* and *scholars*! Horatio greets Hamlet by his title; "Hail to your lordship"; when he adds "My lord, and your poor *servant* ever," Hamlet replies "*Sir*, my good *friend*, I'll change *that* name with you." When Horatio, answering Hamlet's query: "what are you doing away from College," says "Taking cuts," Hamlet retorts: "I know you better, you are no truant," and this leads to the ensuing longer conversation about the

ghost, which is as important for the plot of the play, as the brief introductory interchange is for the characterization of Hamlet.

(Cf. Wordsworth Prelude IX, 225, when he praises "academic institutes.")

And rules, that they held something up to view
Of a Republic, where all stood thus far
Upon equal ground, that we were *brothers all*
In honour, as in one community
Scholars and gentlemen.)

3) Hamlet, Horatio, and the Ghost Scenes (I, iv, and v).

Horatio, carrying out his promise, watches with Hamlet and Marcellus at midnight on the platform, (I, iv, 1-38). Note that Horatio's first concern is for Hamlet's safety when the ghost beckons him to go away with it. "You shall not go, my lord; be ruled you shall not go." And when Hamlet breaks away Horatio says: "He waxes desperate with imagination," (I, iv, 87).

4) Hamlet's meeting with Horatio after the Ghost's disclosure (I, v, 112-191).

Hamlet's first impulse is to keep the ghost's revelation to himself; he repels with ironic riddling words Horatio's "What news, my lord?" But Horatio's evident hurt at his wild and whirling words, causes him to relent: "I'm sorry they offend you, heartily; Yes, faith, heartily." He takes both Horatio and Marcellus into his confidence as "friends, scholars, soldiers" and though he does not reveal until later and to Horatio alone, what the ghost has told him,

For your desire to know what is between us,
O'er master it as you may. . . .

he does confide to them his intention to put an antic disposition on and swears them never to betray that they are privy to his ruse.

. . . Let us go in together;
And still your finger on your lips, I pray.

As they stand back to give him precedence in leaving he says: "Nay, come, let's go *together*."

(These comments focus only the light thrown on Hamlet's relation to Horatio. There is, of course, much else, that Horatio never dreamed of in his philosophy.)

5) Hamlet's relation to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern (II, ii, 1-38; 226-320. III, ii, 307-390).

Shakespeare as is his manner emphasizes Horatio's Hamlet by way of dramatic contrast, with the Hamlet of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Like Horatio, they are boyhood friends and fellow-students of Hamlet, but while Horatio puts friendship above self-interest, they put self-interest and advancement at court, above friendship, crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning. Whereas Hamlet's conduct and conversation is like a suit whose wrinkles betray his own peculiar and personal form and habit, theirs is creased into conformity with convention. Hamlet is unpredictable. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are a perfectly predictable pair, unoriginal and uniform, true to type, and nothing else. They react alike and the same epithets apply equally to either.

King: Thanks, Rosencrantz and gentle Guildenstern.

Queen: Thanks, Guildenstern and gentle Rosencrantz

(It wouldn't make any difference if you called them Rosenstern and Guildencrantz.)

We learn (II, ii, 1-40) that the King has sent for them to *use them* in discovering the reasons for Hamlet's strange behavior,—“transformation; so I call it,” and “being of so young days brought up with [Hamlet],” thinks they may succeed where he has failed. The Queen testifies to Hamlet's friendly feelings toward them:

Good gentlemen, he hath much talk'd of you;
And sure I am two men there are not living
To whom he more adheres. (II, ii, 19-21)

This is the background Shakespeare provides for their first meeting with Hamlet (II, ii, 226.) immediately after his interview with Polonius whom he has dismissed as a tedious old fool. As in his meeting with Horatio, he counters their formal bows and salute,—“my honor'd lord!” “My most dear lord”—with a hearty handshake

of friendship, "My excellent good friends! How dost thou, Guildenstern? Ah Rosencrantz! Good lads, how do ye both." After some playful banter and bawdy repartee such as he never indulges in with Horatio, they offer to wait on him, and Hamlet replies: "No such matter. I will not sort *you* with the rest of my servants," and with a change of voice from jest to seriousness: "But in the beaten way of friendship, what make you at Elsinore?" When Rosencrantz replies: "To visit you, my lord; no other occasion," Hamlet retorts: "Come, deal justly with me . . . the good King and Queen have sent for you."—And he makes a last appeal to them to side with ingenuous youth against scheming age, to put honesty above policy, and friendship above feigning.

Hamlet: Let me conjure you by the rights of our fellowship, by the consonancy of our youth, by the obligation of our ever-preserved love, and by what more dear a better proposer could charge you withal, be even and direct with me, whether you were sent for or no!

Rosencrantz (*Aside to Guildenstern*): What say you?

Hamlet (*Aside*) Nay, then, I have an eye of you.
If you love me, hold not off.

Guildenstern My lord, we *were* sent for.

When they confess they were sent for to spy on him, he anticipates their attempt to pluck out the heart of his mystery by his famous speech: "I have of late—but wherefore I know not—[he knows very well] lost all my mirth" (II, ii, 297-324). The subject is suddenly changed by their announcement of the arrival of the players, a palpable piece of stitch work in the plot, for the purpose of preparing for a necessary question of the play to be later considered. When they report to the King their interview with Hamlet, (III, i, 1-15) the Queen asks "Did he receive you well?" and Rosencrantz replies: "Most like a gentleman." In his speech to Horatio (III, ii, 75) Hamlet praises friends who "are not a pipe for Fortune's finger to sound what stop she please." Shakespeare remembered the figure and dramatized it in the brief but thrilling scene (III, ii, 360-390) in which Hamlet finishes with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

6) Hamlet's Horatio. After Hamlet conceives the plan to catch the conscience of the King by the play (II, ii, 633), he confides it to Horatio, (III, ii, 50-92).

When half-friends go, the friend arrives:

Exeunt Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

Hamlet: What ho! Horatio!

Enter Horatio.

Horatio: Here, sweet lord, at your service.

Hamlet: Horatio, thou art e'en as just a man as e'er my conversation
cop'd withal!

Horatio: O, my dear lord,—

Hamlet: Nay, do not think I flatter,

For what advancement may I hope from thee

That no revenue hast but thy good spirits

To feed and clothe thee? Why should the poor be flatter'd?

No, let the candied tongue lick absurd pomp,

And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee

Where thrift may follow fawning. Dost thou hear?

Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice

And could of men distinguish, her election

Hath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been

As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing,

A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards

Hast ta'en with equal thanks; and blest are those

Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,

That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger

To sound what stop she please. Give me that man

That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him

In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,

As I do thee.—Something too much of this.—

There is a play to-night before the King:

This is Hamlet's most significant speech to Horatio, and reveals Hamlet's real self, the sound core of his inmost being that he lets only Horatio see. The cutting of this passage, as is frequently done in the

theatre, destroys one of Shakespeare's main guides to the understanding of Hamlet. Horatio's Hamlet not only corrects Hamlet's Hamlet of the soliloquies, but Ophelia's Hamlet, as he was mirrored in her mind before and after the shock that cracked her mirror.

7) Hamlet's Return to Denmark. Hamlet's letter to Horatio from the ship, announcing his return to Denmark (IV, vi, 12-33) and his account of his adventure with the pirates, and his alteration of the letter of Claudius, are essential to the plot, but add little to the characterization except as they confirm our estimate of Horatio as Hamlet's only trusted friend. Though Horatio heard Hamlet tell (V, ii, 46) how he had conjured the King of England to the bearers of the letters, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, "to sudden death, not shriving time allow'd," he tells the ambassador from England, after it is all over, (V, ii, 385), "He never gave commandment for their death." Was this an inadvertence on Shakespeare's part, or did he intend to represent Horatio as protecting Hamlet against dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds, ignorant of the truth and the real reasons responsible for an apparently wanton act of cruelty, as though Shakespeare were saying: "The old play made him do it, but I don't want you to believe it." Hamlet's last words to Horatio:

Had I but time—as this fell sergeant, Death,
Is strict in his arrest—O, I could tell you—
But let it be Horatio, I am dead;
Thou liv'st, report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied.

Horatio: Never believe it:
I am more an antique Roman than a Dane;
Here's yet some liquor left.

Hamlet: As thou'rt a man,
Give me the cup. Let go! By heaven, I'll have't!
O good Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!
If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity a while
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
To tell my story.

[March afar off, and shot within.]

What warlike noise is this?

Osric. Young Fortinbras, with conquest come from Poland,
To the ambassadors of England gives
This warlike volley.

Hamlet: O, I die, Horatio,
The potent poison quite o'er-crows my spirit.
I cannot live to hear the news from England
But I do prophesy th' election lights
On Fortinbras, he has my dying voice.
So tell him, with the occurrences, more and less,
Which have solicited—The rest is silence.

[Dies.]

Horatio: Now cracks a noble heart. Goodnight, sweet prince,
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!

At the close Hamlet speaks his last words to Horatio. It is as though Shakespeare said: "Remember Hamlet, as Horatio knew him." Horatio's Hamlet is Shakespeare's final bequest to the unsatisfied. His own most original contribution to the character of Hamlet which he inherited, is in the soliloquies that give us insights into fathomless deeps of human nature. The Hamlet of the soliloquies is the passionate thinker who fain would pierce the veil of seeming. The irony of fate makes him who knows not seeming put on the mask of seeming to penetrate the seeming of others. Shakespeare, master of characterization by contrast, sets the skepticism of Hamlet beside the dogmatism of Polonius, Hamlet's despair of attaining the Truth with Polonius' cocksureness that he can find it, though it were hid in the centre, as he contrasts the hesitation and vacillation of Hamlet with the impulsive forthrightness and haste of Laertes in avenging *his* father's death. Hamlet's problem is peculiarly the problem of the scholar, the thinker, the intellectual, the man of questioning analytic mind who looks before he leaps, who weighs before he concludes, who is conscious of the risk involved in all action, who knows he can change his mind but never his deed, whose self-scrutiny corrodes his self-confidence. It is interesting that the most brilliant modern exposition of Hamlet as the type of the skeptic paralyzed by doubt has been that of Ivan Turgenev (too little known) in which he contrasts Hamlet and Don Quixote as the eternal Human Types. And it is ironic that this indictment of Hamlet, a Scandinavian Nor-

dic, as an impotent dreamer, should come from a Slavic genius. The doubter of the Hamlet type risks nothing and loses all. Faith is willingness to risk. Love is willingness to risk. Courage is willingness to risk. Hamlet's love is blighted, his faith in friends undermined, his courage not quenched but made to seem irrelevant. But from the last stage of utter spiritual desolation, reached by Macbeth when learning that Lady Macbeth was dead he cried: "She should have died hereafter,—Life's a tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury, signifying nothing," Hamlet is saved by his love for Horatio. A retainer says to Lear: "Thou hast one daughter who *redeems* nature from the general curse that twain have brought her to." So Shakespeare says to Hamlet at the close: Thou hast one friend who redeems nature from the general curse that twain, the King and Gertrude, have brought her to.

To the very end this love and trust and faith refreshed his spirit, like a fountain in a dry land, and it is through this love at the close that Shakespeare touches in our hearts the springs of human affection, pity and awe, so that we say with Horatio as Hamlet's voice is hushed in death,

Now cracks a noble heart
Good night, Sweet Prince!

Princeton University. (Emeritus)

THE F. ROBERTS JOHNSON HAMLET ILLUSTRATIONS

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THERE'S NOTHING EITHER GOOD OR BAD BUT THINKING MAKES IT SO

By PERCY H. HOUSTON

THE perennial problem of Hamlet, which has agitated scholars and not-so-good scholars since the rise of the Romantic Movement, in England and especially in Germany, seems to be like life itself or the everlasting argument over the human will and Divine Grace, a perpetual matter of subjective response. From romantic dreaming and Victorian sentimentality the pendulum has swung to the hard-boiled realism of modern textual critics and students of the stage who permit a playwright to mean only what the action in a first-class Elizabethan melodrama reveals.

When I undertook to choose a text for my class in Shakespeare for the fall semester, I had before me Kittredge's *Sixteen Plays*, Hardin Craig's *Shakespeare*, the Brooke, Cunliffe and MacCracken and the G. B. Harrison selected plays. Out of curiosity I turned to what these eminent editors had to say on this controversial subject in the hope of finding some unanimity of opinion or some confirmation of my own theories formed from some years of discussion in the classroom. I found no agreement among these scholars, and no more than a suspicion of my own position on the subject.

Professor Kittredge, whose authority has always weighed heavily with me, almost persuaded me of the rightness of his position: that Hamlet's was a necessarily deferred revenge, that after he became fully aware of the situation in which he found himself he acted with decision but was frustrated in his design by an opponent of no mean ability, that his failure to kill the King at prayer was wholly in accordance with an old-established custom of adequate revenge, and that he justifiably ran his sword through the body of Polonius while

mistaking him for the King. Harding Craig admits the plausibility of a subjective interpretation, citing both Coleridge and Goethe, but declares that the reader must not ascribe such interpretation to the mind of Shakespeare when he wrote the play. Harrison, ranging himself beside Kittredge in what we may call the common-sense school of interpretation, sticks closely to the stage conventions' argument. A slight break in interpretation comes with Brooke, Cunliffe and MacCracken, who declare for a double interpretation of Hamlet's conduct, in that Kyd, at least his influence, is responsible for the action of the play and Shakespeare for the characterization.

On the other side, in favor of what modern scholarship now deprecates as the romantic interpretation of Hamlet's character, we may place A. C. Bradley's famous account in his *Shakespearean Tragedy* and Joseph Quincy Adams's detailed study of the play. Bradley would regard our hero not as a mere thinker, incapable of practical activity, but rather as a young man possessed of noble gifts which at the crisis of his life conspired to paralyze his impulse to action. Thence a melancholy due to the shock of his father's death and his mother's scandalous marriage destroyed his will, just as his active imagination and his generalizing habit of mind offered him a kind of psychological compensation for his failure to accomplish what he knew to be his sacred duty. Hence his entire moral world collapsed about him, and he could do little else than indulge in endless and futile mental dissection. He was not a mere dreamer and poet but a noble and charming youth (witness Ophelia's comments upon him) who found the very springs to action vitiated by a corrupt world to which he did belong but which he could not manage.

Professor Adams merely accepts this theme of the debilitating effects of melancholy to prove that Shakespeare has made a detailed study of a peculiar temperament which, because it was forced to act contrary to its high ideals, failed in the process — the constant theme, it seems to me, of all Shakespearean tragedy.

And this is the point I wish to make in this paper. I am convinced that the strict constructionists are in the right in insisting that Shakespeare wrote directly for the contemporary stage under conditions inherited from the long and the immediate past, and that

we have no right to impute ulterior motives to him that neither he nor his audiences could have comprehended. E. E. Stoll and Kit-tredge and Harrison are wholly right within the limits of their position. And yet these highly trained Elizabethan scholars have, in their positive assertion of knowledge of a great poet's mind, failed to comprehend how such a mind inevitably gives more to the world than a mere conscious effort to provide some excellent melodrama for a more or less unlettered audience. Moreover, these learned scholars, perhaps because of a certain fear of assuming anything not warranted by the text, seem to have missed the double note to be found in all great tragedy.

Let us see how the matter works out. Let us also begin with the Renaissance, that extraordinary period not merely of extreme artistic creation but of voyages and discoveries, of the establishment of a new heaven and a new earth, of the displacement of man as the center of his universe and his consequent decline from his exalted position as the favored creation of an omnipotent God, of incessant and restless activity in every direction, of growing skepticism and concerted attack upon medieval ways of conceiving the life of man and his relationship to a higher power. Not only was the medieval synthesis broken by the triumph of Nominalism and the breakdown of Aristotelian disputation but the spiritual unity of Europe was shattered by the revolt of Luther and his successors from the authority of Rome. The Renaissance Humanist was a many-sided phenomenon, but in every case he represents a revolt from authority and an assertion of self-will as he turned to an appreciation of the life of the senses or absorbed himself in the revival of classical literature and philosophy or followed his impulse towards discovering and colonizing the New World. He was philosopher, statesman, theologian, classical scholar, sometimes all of these at one and the same time.

Now these Humanists flourished during a period which we now know to have been a turning-point in history, the transition from a theological and authoritarian view of man and his universe to the modern secularization of knowledge and the growing insistence by the individual on his right to work out his salvation, in this world and the next, as best he can. We know, as Professor Spencer has told us, that Copernicus, Machiavelli and Montaigne effected a revolution

in thought comparable only to those of Darwin and Einstein not too remote from our own distracted times. And we know that Shakespeare, while never a systematic philosopher of any sort, did as a supremely great poet receive the full impact of such a period. We know that he inherited his dramatic technique and much of his moral outlook from the medieval past but that he was sensitively alive to nearly all the currents of thought that swept across the creative minds of the time. Thoroughly steeped in the Gothic past, he nevertheless was able to create characters who embodied in themselves many of the qualities of this Humanistic revival. The Renaissance soldier and courtier and statesman fill the pages of his histories and his tragedies while his delightful romantic heroines call upon us to dally with them in the Forest of Arden or on the coast of Illyria or in a Venetian hall of justice. Not a learned scholar, he yet drew into himself with every breath the fragrance of the New Learning that permeated the air wherever he went. And he undertook to portray some of the fashionable humours which it was the custom of his fellow playwrights to illustrate upon the stage. The humour of melancholy was not the least of these.

Now I think we are ready for Hamlet the character and Hamlet the play. Though in substance the play is a typical revenge play of the vintage of Kyd, it is also, unless I misread what I believe to be signposts all along the way, a full-length study of a temperament, or humour, one clearly generated by psychological influences produced by those unquiet times.

Hamlet, that is to say, was a young man, trained at court to be a "governour"; he was the glass of fashion and the mould of form with most of the accomplishments of the Renaissance Humanist. At the opening of the play we find him a student at the University of Wittenberg, where he doubtless pursued studies in theology and the humanities. It will be noted that in his first great soliloquy he makes two references to classical mythology, and again in the closet scene with his mother he seems to turn inevitably to what was uppermost in his mind when his mind grew excited. Again, in this most instructive first soliloquy he proceeds, first, to express his doubts concerning the Christian prohibition against self-slaughter, revealing thereby his awe of orthodox teaching, and, second, his speculative habit of gen-

eralizing from the specific instance—"Frailty, thy name is woman." And overall the young poet-philosopher speaks volubly, here and throughout the play, repeating a single idea in more than one way—"How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable"; "Must, like a whore, unpack my heart with words, And fall a-cursing, like a very drab, A scullion!" It would seem that as his excitement grew his word-board was unlocked, and all the rich vein of poetry that was in his nature came to utterance.

So, when his self-confessed weakness and his melancholy take possession of him, he proceeds to brood upon his condition; "Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all," this conscience, as I have heard Kittredge explain, meaning consciousness, the very necessity that we have to live and breathe and make moral decisions in the world of men.

The time is out joint; O cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right.

From thinking too precisely on the event, he passes to his famous "To be or not to be" soliloquy, and there we have, I think, the case complete.

Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.

Hamlet's mind has now turned to corruption from the split in his personality consequent upon a terrible shock to a sensitive nature. In no other way can we explain his harsh treatment of Ophelia, whose feminine understanding penetrates directly to the disturbance in the life of the man she loved. Thence onward he pursues his futile way, lashing himself into impotent fury and doing nothing except to indulge in hysterical excesses which never issue in any kind of deliberate action. In the last act he confronts the grave-diggers, having lost hope and the will to act, and seeing life in all its hideous corruption.

Hamlet, in effect, saw too deeply into the springs of human conduct ever to find rest. Abnormally sensitive to the disparity between

the world as it is and what man's God-given reason declares it should be, Hamlet is the Renaissance individualist who has lost faith in older forms of religious affirmation and now finds himself bereft of this reason as too frail a reed to lean upon. So is a great nature overthrown, and harshness and cruelty and festering corruption have destroyed as fine a nature as poet ever conceived.

It is then as poet that Shakespeare is greater than his conscious self. Once before in the tragic figure of Shylock he succeeded in breaking to pieces what would otherwise have been a somewhat silly romantic comedy. Again, I have heard Kittredge declare that Shylock was meant for a butt for the Jew-baiting audience's coarse jokes. But today we realize that Shakespeare was no Jew-baiter if Gratiano was, or he would never have put Shylock's piteous appeal as a human being in Shylock's: "Hath not a Jew eyes—" etc. So in the case of Hamlet, we have something greater and more enduring and profounder in its implications than the rattling good melodrama Kittredge would have us take it to be. The play, and the character, of Hamlet, because a supremely great poet and unsurpassed creator of poetically conceived characters had to do with their coming into the world, remain a picture of the depths in the soul of man for all succeeding generations.

Occidental College.



A NOTE ON MR. F. ROBERTS JOHNSON'S LINE DRAWINGS FOR *HAMLET*

By CLOYD M. CRISWELL

SINCE Mr. F. Roberts Johnson's illustrations for *Hamlet* are line drawings, it is as such a critic must judge them. Possibly years spent in a study of Shakespearean text may prevent one in reaching a detached appraisal of Mr. Johnson's work. He may have in mind as a standard for any pictorial rendering of Shakespeare's plays the ornate, tapestry-like oils of Edwin Abbey and the tight, photographic compositions of the Pre-Raphaelites, W. Holman Hunt and J. E. Millais; and he may dismiss Mr. Johnson's drawings as "modern," and therefore grotesque and distorted. Even so, such sketches as J. E. Millais' "Varnishing Morning" and W. Holman Hunt's "Claudio and Isabella"¹ are very close in spirit to Mr. Johnson's black and whites; and Mr. Johnson's drawing of Ophelia in the brook is reminiscent of J. E. Millais' painting of the same subject, as is the same scene in the Olivier film.

Exaggerating hands seems the one concession Mr. Johnson makes to present-day influences upon artists—in this case the unusual camera angle. In all other respects his *Hamlet* drawings bear relation to the line statements of Inigo Jones in his designs for *Coelum Britannicum* by Thomas Carew in 1634 and for *Luminalia* in 1638; to the graceful pencil notes of Daumier and Delacroix; and to the large body of Shakespearean drawings by Gordon Craig. To call the drawings "Modern" and distorted (El Greco, a contemporary of Shakespeare, won fame by his disconcerting emphasis upon elongated anatomy) would be to employ, as Hamlet has it, "words, words, words."

And it is difficult to see how an artist might avoid some suggestion of the grotesque element when illustrating a play in which one of the important characters is a ghost.

The partial nudity of the figures and the unidentifiable nature of their costume one might credit to Mr. Johnson's imagination; for the very reason that stage set designers and costume designers are applauded when their innovations in mounting a Shakespearean production increase the understanding of the audience. In Hamlet's first speech of any length he admits:

But I have that within which passeth show,
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.

It would appear that, by not calling attention to a particular costume for a particular character, Mr. Johnson lays more stress on internal torment, getting the state across to the observer by the use of sharp and tortured lines. His drawings, then, are functional, not decorative, an addition to the text, which is the chief value of illustration, no matter what medium the artist employs.

Lehigh University.

¹*Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, The MacMillan Company, 1905



ILLUSTRATION BY F ROBERTS JOHNSON FOR THE VISION PRESS, LTD.,
EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*



SHAKESPEARE IN JAMES JOYCE

By ARTHUR HEINE

THESE quotations, adaptations, and echoes from Shakespeare in *Ulysses* serve to show how saturated was the mind of James Joyce not merely with Irish psychology and Dublin squalor, but with the poetry of Shakespeare. A similar, but probably not so thorough familiarity with the Classics, could also be demonstrated. The resort to Shakespeare phraseology, because the poet expressed thoughts better than anyone else, often in definitive form, may be found in similar fashion in the prose of De Quincey, Hazlitt, Stevenson and other English writers.

- 1 Pg. 8 The rage of Caliban at not seeing his face in a mirror, . . .
Allusion—*The Tempest*
- 2 Pg. 14 Printed by the weird sisters in the year of the big wind.
Allusion—*Macbeth* I. iii. 32
I. v. 9 (these weird sisters)
- 3 Pg. 17 Yet here's a spot.
Macbeth V i. 34
- 4 Pg. 17 Wait till you hear him on Hamlet, Haines.
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 5 Pg. 19 What is your idea of Hamlet?
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 6 Pg. 19 He proves by algebra that Hamlet's grandson is Shakespeare's grandfather and that he himself is the ghost of his own father
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 7 Pg. 20 . . . this tower and these cliffs here remind me somehow of Elsinore
That beetles o'er his base into the sea, isn't it?
Hamlet I. iv. 71
- 8 Pg. 26 Had Pyrrhus not fallen by a beldam's hand in Argos or Julius Caesar not been knifed to death.
Allusion—*Julius Caesar*
- 9 Pg. 29 He proves by algebra that Shakespeare's ghost is Hamlet's grandfather
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 10 Pg. 31 [But what does Shakespeare say?] *Put but money in thy purse.*
Othello I. iii. 352

- 11 Pg. 31 Iago, Stephen murmured.
Allusion—*Othello*
- 12 Pg. 38 Jesus! If I fell over a cliff that beetles o'er his base, . . .
 . . . of the cliff
 (That beetles o'er his base into the sea.)
 Hamlet I. iv. 70-71
- 13 Pg. 40 In his broad bed nuncle Richie, . . .
Allusion—*King Lear*
- 14 Pg. 45 . . . in sable silvered, hearing Elsinore's tempting flood.
 (A sable silver'd.)
 Hamlet I. ii. 241 and Allusion
- 15 Pg. 48 A side-eye at my Hamlet hat.
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 16 Pg. 50 Full fathom five thy father lies.
The Tempest I. ii. 394
- 17 Pg. 51 A seachange this, . . .
 (But doth suffer a sea-change . . .)
 The Tempest I. ii. 398
- 18 Pg. 72 . . . Brutus is an honourable man.
 Julius Caesar III. ii. 88, 93, 100
- 19 Pg. 75 *Hamlet* she played last night. Male impersonator. Perhaps he was
 a woman. Why Ophelia committed suicide?
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 20 Pg. 82 Glimpses of the moon.
Hamlet I. iv. 53
- 21 Pg. 87 . . . the wise child that knows her own father.
 (. . . it is a wise father that knows his own child.)
 The Merchant of Venice II. ii. 83-84
- 22 Pg. 87 I'll tickle his catastrophe, . . .
 The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth II. i. 68
- 23 Pg. 95 Like Shakespeare's face.
Allusion
- 24 Pg. 101 . . . heart of hearts.
 (. . . in my heart of heart . . .)
 Hamlet III. ii. 78
- 25 Pg. 106 Love among the tombstones. Romeo
Allusion—*Romeo and Juliet*
- 26 Pg. 107 Gravediggers in *Hamlet*.
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 27 Pg. 108 We come to bury Caesar. His ideas of March or June.
Parody—*Julius Caesar*
- 28 Pg. 125 He forgot Hamlet
Allusion
- 29 Pg. 138 *And in the porches of mine ear did pour.*
 [By the way did he find that out? He died in his sleep.]
 Hamlet I. v. 63 and Allusion
- 30 Pg. 138 [Or the other story] beast with two backs.
 Othello I. i. 118
- 31 Pg. 142 Lay on, Macduff!
 Macbeth V. vii. 62

- 32 Pg. 150 But then Shakespeare has no rhymes: blank verse. Allusion
- 33 Pg. 150 *Hamlet, I am thy father's spirit*
Doomed for a certain time to walk the earth.
 (I am thy father's spirit;
 Doomed for a certain term to walk the night, . . .)
Hamlet I. v. 9-10
- 34 Pg. 175 Give the devil his due.
The Life of King Henry the Fifth III. vii. 132
- 35 Pg. 182 And we have, have we not, those priceless pages of *Wilhelm Meister*?
 A great poet on a great brother poet. A hesitating soul taking arms
 against a sea of troubles. . . .
 Allusion to Goethe
 Paraphrase—*Hamlet III i. 59*
- 36 Pg. 182 I feel you would need me more for *Hamlet*. Allusion
- 37 Pg. 183 . . . a figure which the world will set beside Saxon Shakespeare's
Hamlet . . . Allusion
- 38 Pg. 183 . . . though I admire him, as old Ben did, on this side idolatry.
 Allusion—Ben Johnson in *Timber or Discoveries Made Upon Men*
and Matter.
- 39 Pg. 183 I mean, whether Hamlet is Shakespeare or James I or Essex. Allusion
- 40 Pg. 183 . . . the words of Hamlet bring our minds into contact with the
 eternal wisdom, . . . Allusion
- 41 Pg. 183 . . . the noblest Roman of them all, . . .
Julius Caesar V. v. 68
- 42 Pg. 184 . . . Hamlet's musings about the afterlife of his princely soul,
 Allusion—*Hamlet III. i. 64-82*
- 43 Pg. 184 *Unsheathe your dagger definitions.*
 Paraphrase *The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth II. ii. 59, 80, 123*
- 44 Pg. 185 The one about *Hamlet*. He says: *il se promène, lisant au livre de lui-même*, don't you know, *reading the book of himself*.
 Allusion—Mallarmé
- 45 Pg. 185 He describes *Hamlet* given in a French town, . . . Allusion
- 46 Pg. 185
 HAMLET
 ou
 LE DISTRAIT
Pièce de Shakespeare
 Allusion
- 47 Pg. 185 *Pièce de Shakespeare*, don't you know. It's so French, the French
 point of view. *Hamlet ou . . .*
 The absentminded beggar, Stephen ended.
 Allusion
- 48 Pg. 185 Sumptuous and stagnant exaggeration of murder. A deathsman of
 the soul Robert Greene called him, Stephen said. Not for nothing
 was he a butcher's son wielding the sledged poleaxe . . .
 (He smote the sledged Polacks on the ice)
 Allusion and Paraphrase—*Hamlet I. i. 63*

- 49 Pg. 185 Nine lives are taken off for his father's one, . . . Khaki Hamlets don't hesitate to shoot. The bloodboltered shambles in act five is a forecast of the concentration camp sung by Mr. Swinburne.
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 50 Pg. 185 He will have it that *Hamlet* is a ghost story, . . .
Allusion
- 51 Pg. 185-6
List! List! O list!
If thou didst ever . . .
Hamlet I. v. 22
- 52 Pg. 186 Elizabethan London lay as far from Stratford as corrupt Paris lies from virgin Dublin.
Allusion
- 53 Pg. 186 Who is the ghost from *limbo patrum*, returning to the world that has forgotten him? Who is king Hamlet?
Allusion
- 54 Pg. 186 . . . among the groundlings.
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* III. ii. 12
- 55 Pg. 186 Shakespeare has left the huguenot's house in Silver Street and walks by the swanmews along the river bank . . . The swan of Avon has other thoughts.
Allusion—Ben Jonson's Eulogy
First Folio
- 56 Pg. 186 It is the ghost, the king, a king, and no king, and the player is Shakespeare who has studied *Hamlet* all the years of his life . . .
Allusion
- 57 Pg. 186
Hamlet I am thy father's spirit
(I am thy father's spirit,)
Hamlet I. v. 9
- 58 Pg. 186 To a son he speaks, the son of his soul, the prince, young Hamlet and to the son of his body, Hamnet Shakespeare, who has died in Stratford that his namesake may live forever.
Allusion
- 59 Pg. 186 It is possible that that player Shakespeare, a ghost by absence, and in the vesture of buried Denmark, a ghost by death, speaking his own words to his own son's name that Hamnet Shakespeare lived he would have been prince Hamlet's twin . . .
Allusion
- 60 Pg. 187 Ann Shakespeare, born Hathaway?
Allusion
- 61 Pg. 187 Art thou there, truepenny?
Hamlet I. v. 150
- 62 Pg. 187 . . . when we read the poetry of *King Lear* . . .
Allusion—*King Lear*
- 63 Pg. 187 We have *King Lear*: and it is immortal.
Allusion—*King Lear*
- 64 Pg. 188 The world believes that Shakespeare made a mistake, he said, and got out of it as quickly and as best he could.
Allusion
- 65 Pg. 188 A shrew, . . .
Allusion
- 66 Pg. 188 But Ann Hathaway? . . . Yes, we seem to be forgetting her as Shakespeare himself forgot her.
Allusion

- 67 Pg. 188 He had a good groatsworth of wit, . . . (Robert Greene)
Allusion
- 68 Pg. 188 That memory, *Venus and Adonis*, lay in the bechamber, of every light-of-love in London.
Allusion—*Venus and Adonis*
- 69 Pg. 188 Is Katherine the shrew illfavoured? Hortensio calls her young and beautiful.
Paraphrase—*The Taming of the Shrew* I. ii. 87
- 70 Pg. 188-9 Do you think the writer of *Antony and Cleopatra*, a passionate pilgrim, had his eyes in the back of his head that he chose the ugliest doxy in Warwickshire to lie withal. Good, he lett her and gained the world of men.
Allusion
- 71 Pg. 189 If others have their will Ann hath a way.
CXXXV and CXLIII
Paraphrase—Sonnets 135 and 143
- 72 Pg. 189 She put the comether on him, sweet and twenty-six. The greyeyed goddess who bends over the boy Adonis, stooping to conquer, as prologue to the swelling act, is a boldfaced Stratford wench who tumbles in a cornfield a lover younger than herself
(As happy prologues to the swelling act)
Allusion to *Venus and Adonis* and *Macbeth* I. iii. 128
- 73 Pg. 189
*Between the acres of the rye
These pretty countryfolk would lie.*
(country folks)
As You Like It V. iii. 24, 26
- 74 Pg. 189 Paris. the well pleased pleaser
Allusion—*Troilus and Cressida*
- 75 Pg. 190 Cordelia. *Cordoglo*. Lir's loneliest daughter.
Allusion—*King Lear*
- 76 Pg. 191 What Caesar would have lived to do had he believed the soothsayer
Allusion—*Julius Caesar*
- 77 Pg. 191 Others abide our question.
Allusion—Matthew Arnold's Sonnet,
Shakespeare
- 78 Pg. 191 But *Hamlet* is so personal, isn't it?
Allusion
- 79 Pg. 192 . . . if you want to shake my belief that Shakespeare is Hamlet you have a stern task before you.
Allusion
- 80 Pg. 192 . . . I feel Hamlet quite young The bitterness might be from the father but the passages with Ophelia are surely from the son.
Allusion
- 81 Pg. 192 The plays of Shakespeare's later years which Renan admired so much breathe another spirit.
Allusion
- 82 Pg. 192 If you want to know what are the events which cast their shadow over the hell of time of *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, look to see when and how the shadow lifts.
Allusions
- 83 Pg. 192 What softens the heart of man, shipwrecked in storms dire, tried, like another Ulysses, Pericles, prince of Tyre.
Allusion

- 84 Pg. 193 A child, a girl placed in his arms, Marina
Allusion—*Pericles*
- 85 Pg. 193 Good Bacon gone musty. Shakespeare Bacon's wild oats. Cypher jugglers going the highroads.
Allusion
- 86 Pg. 193 Mr Brandes accepts it, Stephen said, as the first play of the closing period.
Does he? What does Mr. Sidney Lee, or Mr. Simon Lazarus, as some aver his name is, say of it?
Allusion—*Pericles*
- 87 Pg. 193 Marina, Stephen said, a child of storm, Miranda, a wonder, Perdita, that which was lost. What was lost is given back to him. his daughter's child.
Allusions
- 88 Pg. 193 *My dearest wife, [Pericles says,] was like this maid.*
Pericles V i. 108
- 89 Pg. 193 And we ought to mention another Irish commentator, Mr. George Bernard Shaw. Nor should we forget Mr. Frank Harris His articles on Shakespeare in the *Saturday Review* were surely brilliant
Allusions
- 90 Pg. 193 Oddly enough he too draws for us an unhappy relation with the dark lady of the sonnets The favoured rival is William Herbert, earl of Pembroke.
Allusion
- 91 Pg. 194 He was himself a lord of language and had made himself a costrel gentleman and had written *Romeo and Juliet*.
Allusion
- 92 Pg. 194 They list And in the porches of their ears I pour
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* I. v. 63
- 93 Pg. 194 a poison poured in the porch of a sleeping ear
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* I v. 63
- 94 Pg. 194 . . . the beast with two backs . . .
Othello I. i. 118
- 95 Pg. 194 . . king Hamlet's ghost could not know of were he not endowed with knowledge by his creator
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 96 Pg. 194 . . from Lucrece's bluecircled ivory globes to Imogen's breast, bare, with its mole cinquespotted
Allusion—*The Rape of Lucrece* and *Cymbeline* II. ii. 38
- 97 Pg. 194 His beaver is up
Hamlet I. ii. 229
- 98 Pg. 194 He is a ghost, a shadow now, the wind by Elsinore's rocks . . .
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 99 Pg. 195 Mr Mulligan, I'll be bound, has his theory too of the play and of Shakespeare.
Allusion
- 100 Pg. 195 Shakespeare? he said I seem to know the name.
Allusion
- 101 Pg. 196 The bard's fellowcountrymen, John Eglinton answered, are rather tired perhaps of our brilliancies of theorising.
Allusion
- 102 Pg. 196 I hear that an actress played Hamlet for the fourhundredandeighth time last night in Dublin.
Allusion

- 103 Pg. 196 The most brilliant of all is the story of Wilde's, Mr. Best said, lifting his brilliant notebook. That *Portrait of Mr. W. H.* where he proves that the sonnets were written by a Willie Hughes, a man of all hues.
Allusion
- 104 Pg. 196 Or Hughie Wills. Mr. William Himself. W.H.: who am I?
Allusion
- 105 Pg. 197-8 So Mr. Justice Madden in his *Diary of Master William Silence* has found the hunting terms.
Allusion
- 106 Pg. 199 You know Manningham's story of the burgher's wife who bade Dick Burbage to her bed after she had seen him in *Richard III* and how Shakespeare, overhearing, without more ado about nothing, took the cow by the horns and, when Burbage came knocking at the gate, answered from the capon's blankets: *William the conqueror came before Richard III*
Allusions
- 107 Pg. 199 And the gay lakin, mistress Fitton . . .
Allusion
- 108 Pg. 199 And sir William Davenant of Oxford's mother with her cup of canary . . .
Twelfth-Night I. iii. 87, 88
- 109 Pg. 199 But all those twenty years what do you suppose poor Penelope in Stratford was doing behind the diamond panes?
Allusion
- 110 Pg. 199 An azured harebell like her veins.
(The azur'd harebell, like thy veins)
Paraphrase—*Cymbeline* IV. ii. 222
- 111 Pg. 199 Lids of Juno's eyes, violets.
Paraphrase—*The Winter's Tale* IV. iii. 121
- 112 Pg. 199 Say that he is the spurned lover in the sonnets. Once spurned twice spurned. But the court wanton spurned him for a lord, his dearmy-love.
Allusion
- 113 Pg. 200 Two deeds are rank in that ghost's mind. a broken vow and the dull-brained yokel on whom her favour has declined, deceased husband's brother.
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 114 Pg. 200 If you deny that in the fifth scene of *Hamlet* he has branded her with infamy tell me why there is no mention of her during the thirty-four years between the day she married him and the day she buried him.
Allusion
- 115 Pg. 200 All those women saw their men down and under. Mary, her goodman John, Ann, her poor dear Willun, when he went and died on her, raging that he was the first to go, Joan, her four brothers, Judith, her husband and all her sons, Susan, her husband too while Susan's daughter, Elizabeth, to use grandaddy's words, wed her second, having killed her first.
Allusion—*Shakespeare's Family*
- 116 Pg. 200 In the years when he was living richly in royal London to pay a debt she had to borrow forty shillings from her father's shepherd.
Allusion

- 117 Pg. 200 You mean the will.
That has been explained, I believe, by jurists.
She was entitled to her widow's dower
At common law. His legal knowledge was great
Our judges tell us.
Allusion—*Shakespeare's Will*
- 118 Pg. 200-1 And therefore he left out her name
From the first draft but he did not leave out
The presents for his granddaughter, for his daughters,
For his sister, for his old cronies in Stratford
And in London. And therefore when he was urged,
As I believe, to name her
He left her his
Secondbest
Bed.
Punks
Leftherhis
Secondbest
Bestabed
Secabest
Leftabed.
- 119 Pg. 201 He was a rich country gentleman, Stephen said, with a coat of arms
and landed estate at Stratford and a house in Ireland yard, a capitalist
shareholder, a bill promoter, a tithefarmer. Why did he not leave
her his best bed if he wished her to snore away the rest of her nights
in peace?
Allusion
- 120 Pg. 201 William Shakespeare and company, limited. The people's William.
For terms apply. E. Dowden, Highfield house. . . .
Allusion
- 121 Pg. 202 I asked him what he thought of the charge of pederasty brought
against the bard. He lifted his hands and said: *All we can say is
that life ran very high in those days.* Lovely!
Allusion
- 122 Pg. 202 He drew Shylock out of his own long pocket.
Allusion
- 123 Pg. 202 His borrowers are no doubt those divers of worship mentioned by
Chettle Falstaff who reported his uprightness of dealing.
Allusion—Henry Chettle's preface to *Kind-Hart's Dreame*
- 124 Pg. 202 He sued a fellowplayer for the price of a few bags of malt and
exactd his pound of flesh in interest for every money lent. How
else could Aubrey's ostler and callboy get rich quick?
Allusion
- 125 Pg. 202 Shylock chimes with the jewbaiting that followed the hanging and
quartering of the queen's leech Lopez,
Allusion
- 126 Pg. 202 . . . *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* with the coming to the throne of a Scotch
philosophaster
Allusion
- 127 Pg. 202 The lost armada is his jeer in *Love's Labour Lost*.
Love's Labour's Lost IV. i. 101

- 128 Pg. 202 . . . and we have a porter's theory of equivocation.
Macbeth II. iii. 1-24
- 129 Pg. 202 . . . Patsy Caliban, . . .
Macbeth V. v. 43
- 130 Pg. 202 The sugared sonnets follow Sydney's.
Allusion—*The Tempest*
- 131 Pg. 202 Bess, the gross virgin who inspired *The Merry Wives of Windsor* . . .
Allusion
- 132 Pg. 203 Coleridge called him myriadminded.
Critical Allusion
- 133 Pg. 203 with hoops of steel.
Hamlet I. iii 63
- 134 Pg. 203 Gentle Will is being roughly handled,
Allusion
- 135 Pg. 203 for poor Ann, Will's widow,
Allusion
- 136 Pg. 203 in that secondbest bed,
Allusion—*Shakespeare's Will*
- 137 Pg. 203 the mobled queen,
Hamlet II ii 533, 534
- 138 Pg. 204 (one stayed at New Place)
Allusion
- 139 Pg. 204 preferring them to the *Merry Wives*
Allusion
- 140 Pg. 204 Falstaff was not a family man. I feel that the fat knight is his supreme creation.
Allusion—*The Life of King Henry the Fifth* IV. vii. 51
- 141 Pg. 204 a greying man with two marriageable daughters,
Allusion
- 142 Pg. 204 beardless undergraduate from Wittemberg then you must hold that his seventy year old mother is the lustful queen
Allusion—*Hamlet*
- 143 Pg. 204 The corpse of John Shakespeare does not walk the night.
Allusion
- 144 Pg. 204 From hour to hour it rots and rots
Paraphrase—*As You Like It* II vii. 27
- 145 Pg. 205 When Rutlandbaconsouthamptonshakespeare or another poet of the same name in the comedy of errors wrote *Hamlet*
Allusion
- 146 Pg. 206 The play's the thing!
Hamlet II. ii 641
- 147 Pg. 206 As for his family, Stephen said, his mother's name lives in the forest of Arden. Her death brought from him the scene with Volunnia in *Coriolanus*. His boyson's death is the deathscene of young Arthur in *King John*. Hamlet, the black prince, is Hamnet Shakespeare. Who the girls in *The Tempest*, in *Pericles*, in *Winter's Tale* are we know. Who Cleopatra, fleshpot of Egypt, and Cressid and Venus are we may guess.
Allusions
- 148 Pg. 206 He had three brothers, Gilbert, Edmund, Richard.
Allusion—*Shakespeare's Brothers*
- 149 Pg. 206 Maister Wull the playwrighter up in Lunnnon
Allusion

- 150 Pg. 206 but an Edmund and a Richard are recorded in the works of sweet William.
Allusion
- 151 Pg. 206 What's in a name?
Romeo and Juliet II. ii. 43
- 152 Pg. 207 In his trinity of black Wills, the villain shakebags, Iago, Richard Crookback Edmund in *King Lear*, two bear the wicked uncles' names. Nay, that last play was written or being written while his brother Edmund lay dying in Southwark.
Allusion
- 153 Pg. 207 I hope Edmund is going to catch it. I don't want Richard, my name
Allusion
- 154 Pg. 207 But he that filches from one my good name
Othello III. iii. 159
- 155 Pg. 207 He has hidden his own name, a fair name, William, in the plays, a super here, a clown there,
Allusion
- 156 Pg. 207 He has revealed it in the sonnets where there is Will in overplus.
Sonnet CXXXV, 2
- 157 Pg. 207 Like John O'Gaunt, his name is dear to him, as dear as the coat of arms he toaded for, on a bend sable a spear or steeled argent, honorificabilitudinitatibus, dearer than his glory of greatest shakespeare in the country.
Allusion—*Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*
- 158 Pg. 207 What's in a name?
Romeo and Juliet II ii 43
- 159 Pg. 207 returning from Shottery and from her arms.
Allusion
- 160 Pg. 208 The three brothers Shakespeare
Allusion
- 161 Pg. 208 Let us hear what you have to say of Richard and Edmund.
Allusion
- 162 Pg. 208 those two noble kinsmen nuncle Richie and nuncle Edmund,
- 163 Pg. 209 My kingdom for a drink.
Parody—*The Tragedy of King Richard the Third* V. iv. 7, 13
- 164 Pg. 209 You will say those names were already in the chronicles from which he took the stuff of his plays. Why did he take them rather than others? Richard, a whoreson crookback, misbegotten, makes love to a widowed Ann (what's in a name?), woos and wins her, a whoreson merry widow. Richard the conqueror, third brother, came after William the conquered. The other four acts of that play hang limply from that first. Of all his kings Richard is the only kind unshielded by Shakespeare's reverence, the angel of the world.
Allusion—*The Tragedy of King Richard the Third*
- 165 Pg. 209 Why is the underplot of *King Lear* in which Edmund figures lifted out of Sidney's *Arcadia* and spatchcocked on to a Celtic legend older than history?
Allusion
- 166 Pg. 209 That was Will's way, . . .
Allusion

- 167 Pg. 209 He puts Bohemia on the seacoast and makes Ulysses quote Aristotle.
Allusions—*The Winter's Tale* and *Troilus and Cressida*
- 168 Pg. 209 Because the theme of the false or the usurping or the adulterous brother or all three in one is to Shakespeare what the poor is not, always with him.
Allusion
- 169 Pg. 209 The note of banishment, banishment from the heart, banishment from home, sounds uninterruptedly from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* onward till Prospero breaks his staff, buries it certain fathoms in the earth and drowns his book. It doubles itself in the middle of his life, reflects itself in another, repeats itself, protasis, epitasis, catastasis, catastrophe. It repeats itself again when he is near the grave, when his married daughter Susan, chip of the old block, is accused of adultery. But it was the original sin that darkened his understanding, weakened his will and left in him a strong inclination to evil. The words are those of my lords bishops of Maynooth. an original sin and, like original sin, committed by another in whose sin he too has sinned. It is between the lines of his last written words, it is petrified on his tombstone under which her four bones are not to be laid.
Allusions
- 170 Pg. 209 Age has not withered it.
Paraphrase—*Antony and Cleopatra* II. ii. 243
- 171 Pg. 209 It is in infinite variety everywhere in the world he has created, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, twice in *As you like It*, in the *Tempest*, in *Hamlet* in *Measure for Measure*, and in all the other plays which I have not read.
infinite variety—*Antony and Cleopatra* II. ii. 244
Allusion
- 172 Pg. 210 He is the ghost and the prince. He is all in all
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* I. ii. 187
- 173 Pg. 210 The boy of act one is the mature man of act five. All in all. In *Cymbeline*, in *Othello* he is bawd and cuckold. He acts and is acted on. Lover of an ideal or a perversion, like José he kills the real Carmen. His unremitting intellect is the hornmad Iago ceaselessly willing that the moor in him shall suffer.
Allusion
- 174 Pg. 210 And what a character is Iago! . . .
Allusion—*Othello*
- 175 Pg. 210 After God Shakespeare has created most.
Critical Allusion
- 176 Pg. 210 Man delights him not nor woman neither,
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* II. ii. 329-330
- 177 Pg. 210 He returns after a life of absence to that spot of earth where he was born, where he has always been, man and boy, a silent witness and there, his journey of life ended, he plants his mulberry-tree in the earth. Then dies. The motion is ended. Gravediggers bury Hamlet *père* and Hamlet *fils*. A king and a prince at last in death, with incidental music. And, what though murdered and betrayed, bewept by all frail tender hearts for, Dane or Dubliner, sorrow for the dead is the only husband for whom they refuse to be divorced.
Allusion

- 178 Pg. 210 If you like the epilogue look long on it: prosperous Prospero, the good man rewarded, Lizzie, grandpa's lump of love, and nuncle Richie, the bad man taken off by poetic justice to the place where the bad niggers go.
- Allusions
- 179 Pg. 210 Every life is many days, day after day. We walk through ourselves, meeting robbers, ghosts, giants, old men, young men, wives, widows, brothers-in-love But always meeting ourselves. The playwright who wrote the folio of this world and wrote it badly (He gave us light first and the sun two days later), the lord of things as they are whom the most Roman of catholics call *disco bosa*, hangman god, is doubtless all in all in all of us, ostler and butcher, and would be bawd and cuckold too but that in the economy of heaven, foretold by Hamlet, there are no more marriages, glorified man, an androgynous angel, being a wife unto himself.
- Allusions
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* III. i. 156
(. . . we will have no more marriages; . . .)
Allusion—*Hamlet* II. ii. 323-329
- 180 Pg. 211 Those who are married, . . . all save one, shall live. The rest shall keep as they are.
- Paraphrase—*Hamlet* III. i. 156-158
- 181 Pg. 211 Unwed, unfancied, ware of wiles, they fingerponder nightly each his variorum edition of *The Taming of the Shrew*
- Allusion
- 182 Pg. 211 Dowden believes there is some mystery in *Hamlet* but will say no more.
- Critical Allusion
- 183 Pg. 211 Herr Bleibtreu, the man Piper met in Berlin, who is working up that Rutland theory, believes that the secret is hidden in the Stratford monument. He is going to visit the present duke, Piper says, and prove to him that his ancestor wrote the plays.
- Allusion
- 184 Pg. 212 Item: was Hamlet mad?
- Allusion
- 185 Pg. 213 Forgot any more than he forgot the whipping lousy Lucy gave him. And left the *femme de trente ans*. And why no other children born? And his first child a girl?
- Allusion
- 186 Pg. 213 Puck Mulligan footed featly, trilling:
- Paraphrase—*The Tempest* I. ii. 379
Allusion—*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*
- 187 Pg. 215 Peace of the druid priests of Cymbeline, hierophantic: from wide earth an altar.
- Allusion
- 188 Pg. 216 cardinal Wolsey's words: *If I had served my God as I had served my king He would not have abandoned me in my old days.*
- Paraphrase—*The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth* III. ii. 456-8

- 189 Pg. 238 You are right, sir. A Monday morning, 'twas so, indeed.
Hamlet II. ii. 415-416
- 190 Pg. 243 I'll say there is much kindness in the jew,
The Merchant of Venice I. iii. 154
- 191 Pg. 245 O, but you missed Dedalus on *Hamlet*.
 Allusion
- 192 Pg. 245 Shakespeare is the happy hunting ground of all minds that have lost their balance.
 Allusion
- 193 Pg. 268 Sweets to the.
 Allusion—*Hamlet* V. i. 265
- 194 Pg. 268 Wise child that knows her father,
 Paraphrase—*The Merchant of Venice* II. ii. 83-84
- 195 Pg. 276 Music hath charms Shakespeare said. Quotations every day in the year.
 Allusion
- 196 Pg. 276 To be or not to be. Wisdom while you wait.
Hamlet III. i. 56
- 197 Pg. 292 Cleopatra, Julius Caesar, Patrick W Shakespeare,
 Allusions
- 198 Pg. 315 A fellow that's neither fish nor flesh.
 (she's neither fish nor flesh,)
The First Part of King Henry the Fourth III. iii. 143
- 199 Pg. 320 Frailty, thy name is *Sceptre*
 Paraphrase—*Hamlet* I. ii. 146
- 200 Pg. 323 'Tis a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance.
Hamlet I. iv. 15-16
- 201 Pg. 327 He's a nice pattern of a Romeo and Juliet.
 Allusion
- 202 Pg. 340 Many a time and oft
The Merchant of Venice I. iii. 107
- 203 Pg. 349 a ministering angel
Hamlet V. i. 263
- 204 Pg. 349 . . . halcyon days
The First Part of King Henry the Sixth I. ii. 131
- 205 Pg. 351-2 more sinned against than sinning,
King Lear III. ii. 60
- 206 Pg. 358 . . . cruel only to be kind.
Hamlet III. iv. 178
- 207 Pg. 366 For this relief much thanks. In *Hamlet*, that is.
Hamlet I. i. 8
- 208 Pg. 381 And childe Leopold did up his beaver
 Parody—*Hamlet* I. ii. 229
- 209 Pg. 387 it will go hard but thou wilt have the second best bed.
 Allusion—*Shakespeare's Will*
- 210 Pg. 387 and Hamlet his father showeth the prince no blister of combustion.
 Allusion
- 211 Pg. 400 like a crookback teethead and feet first into the world,
Henry VI Pt III V vii 70-80
- 212 Pg. 401 'Slife, I'll be round with you.
 Paraphrase—*Twelfth-Night* II. iii. 103
- 213 Pg. 405 For this relief much thanks.
Hamlet I. i. 8

- 214 Pg. 406 The wise father knows his own child.
The Merchant of Venice II. ii. 83-84
- 215 Pg. 412 must certainly, in the poet's words, give us pause.
Allusion—*Hamlet* III. i. 68
- 216 Pg. 413 the whirligig of years
Paraphrase—*Twelfth-Night* V 1 388-389
- 217 Pg. 425 We have shrewridden Shakespeare and henpecked Socrates.
Allusion
- 218 Pg. 436 Othello black brute.
Allusion
- 219 Pg. 438 The witching hour of night.
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* III ii 413
- 220 Pg. 439 Trenchant exponent of Shakespeare.
Allusion
- 221 Pg. 464 [Bloom, I am Paddy Dignam's spirit.] List, list, O list!
Hamlet I. v. 22
- 222 Pg. 482 Caliban!
The Tempest I. ii 313
- 223 Pg. 482 This is midsummer madness,
(Why, this is very midsummer madness)
Twelfth-Night III iv 62
- 224 Pg. 483 . . . more sinned against than sinning
King Lear III. ii. 60
- 225 Pg. 489 To be or not to be.
Hamlet III. i 56
- 226 Pg. 490 The greeneyed monster
Othello III. iii 166
- 227 Pg. 494 God, the sun, Shakespeare, a commercial traveller, having itself
traversed in reality itself, becomes that self
Allusion
- 228 Pg. 531 Swear!
Hamlet I v. 149, 155, 161, 180, 181
- 229 Pg. 531 You have made your secondbest bed . . . Your epitaph is written
Allusion
- 230 Pg. 534 Frailty, thy name is marriage.
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* I. ii 146
- 231 Pg. 535 Halcyon days.
The First Part of King Henry the Sixth I ii. 131
- 232 Pg. 542 To have or not to have, that is the question.
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* III i. 56
- 233 Pg. 546 The beast that has two backs . . .
Paraphrase—*Othello* I. i 118, cf. No. 30
- 234 Pg. 547 Hamlet, I am thy father's gimlet!
Paraphrase—*Hamlet* I. v 9
- 235 Pg. 553 The mirror up to nature
Hamlet III ii. 26
- 236 Pg. 553 (. *The face of William Shakespeare, beardless, appears
there,*)
Allusion
- 237 Pg. 554 SHAKESPEARE
(*With paralytic rage.*) Weda seca whokilla farst.
Allusion
- 238 Pg. 554 (. . . *refeatures Shakespeare's beardless face.*)
Allusion

- 239 Pg. 556 *pièce de Shakespeare*.
Allusion
- 240 Pg. 576 Absinthe, the greeneyed monster.
Othello III. iii. 166
- 241 Pg. 579 Hamlet, revenge!
Allusion
- 242 Pg. 597 But how to get there was the rub.
Echo—*Hamlet*
- 243 Pg. 598 O tell me where is fancy bread?
Parody—*The Merchant of Venice* III. ii. 63
- 244 Pg. 607 Shakespeares were as common as Murphies. What's in a name?
Allusion and *Romeo and Juliet* II. ii. 43
- 245 Pg. 611 That was the rub.
Echo—*Hamlet* III. i. 65
- 246 Pg. 618 it's a horse of quite another colour
Paraphrase—*Twelfth-Night* II. iii. 184-185
- 247 Pg. 618 or it's the big question of our national poet over again, who precisely wrote them, like *Hamlet* and Bacon, as you who know your Shakespeare infinitely better than I, . . .
Critical Allusion
- 248 Pg. 620 the Antonio personage (no relation to the dramatic personage of identical name who sprang from the pen of our national poet)
Allusion
- 249 Pg. 621 and give you your quietus
Echo—*Hamlet* III. i. 75
- 250 Pg. 625 that consummation devoutly to be or not to be wished for,
Echo—*Hamlet* III. i. 63-64
- 251 Pg. 645-6 launched out into praises of Shakespeare's songs,
Allusion
- 252 Pg. 652 To enter or not to enter. To knock or not to knock.
Parody—*Hamlet* III. i. 56
- 253 Pg. 661 he reflected on the pleasures derived from literature of instruction rather than of amusement as he himself had applied to the works of William Shakespeare more than once for the solution of difficult problems in imaginary or real life.
Allusion
- 254 Pg. 674 On the stage, modern or Shakespearean exemplars, Charles Wyndham, high comedian, Osmond Tearle (†1901), exponent of Shakespeare
Allusion
- 255 Pg. 685 about the period of the birth of William Shakespeare
Allusion
- 256 Pg. 693 Shakespeare's *Works* (dark crimson morocco, goldtooled).
Allusion

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EDITOR'S NOTE—Mr. Heine and the Editor are grateful for the labors of Dr. Carl Strauch and Miss Eleanor Ritter with Mr. Heine's manuscript and for their additions to it.



PRODUCTIONS OF *HAMLET*, 1930 TO THE PRESENT

(This is exclusive of all amateur productions and is necessarily limited to major presentations in London and the United States, with mention of only a few foreign productions of the play.)

- 1930—Embassy Theatre, London—Gerald Lawrence as Hamlet
Queen's Theatre, Old Vic, London—John Gielgud as Hamlet
Globe Theatre, London—German version by W. V. Schlegel
Haymarket Theatre, London—Produced by Henry Ainley
Hampden Theatre, New York—Walter Hampden as Hamlet
- 1931—Royale Theatre, New York—Fritz Leiber as Hamlet, with the
Chicago Civic Shakespeare Society
Haymarket Theatre, London—Godfrey Tearle as Hamlet
Broadhurst Theatre, New York—Raymond Massey as Hamlet,
produced by Norman-Bel Geddes
- 1932—New Century Theatre, New York—Shakespeare Theatre
Company
Marlowe Society, London
- 1933—Old Vic, London
Pasadena Playhouse, California
- 1934—Belasco Theatre, Los Angeles, William Thornton as Hamlet
Shubert Theatre, Newark, New Jersey
New Theatre, London—John Gielgud as Hamlet
Forty-fourth Street Theatre, New York—Walter Hampden
as Hamlet
- 1935—Old Vic, London—Maurice Evans as Hamlet
London—John Gielgud as Hamlet
- 1936—Empire Theatre, New York—John Gielgud as Hamlet (then
on tour)
Imperial Theatre, New York—Leslie Howard as Hamlet

- 1937—Old Vic, London—Laurence Olivier as Hamlet
Westminster Theatre, London—Christopher Oldham as Hamlet
Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon
- 1938—Old Vic, London—In modern dress
St. James Theatre, New York—Maurice Evans as Hamlet
- 1939—Maurice Evans production moves to Boston; plays again
Forty-fourth Street Theatre, New York—December, 1939
- 1942—Robert Helpman Ballet, Sadler's Wells Company, New Theatre, London
- 1943—Geary Theatre, San Francisco—John Carradine as Hamlet
- 1944—Haymarket Theatre, London—John Gielgud as Hamlet
New Theatre, London—Robert Helpman as Hamlet.
Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon—Robert Atkins as Hamlet
Old Vic, London
Hawaii—Servicemen—Maurice Evans, G.I. Version
- 1945—International Theatre, New York—Maurice Evans as Hamlet, in his G.I. Version
Tom Rutherford as Hamlet, on tour in U. S. and Canada
Haymarket Theatre, London
- 1948—Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon

Foreign Productions:

- 1932—Vakhtangov Theatre, Moscow
Comedie Francaise, Paris
- 1934—Tokyo
- 1937—Kronberg Castle, Elsinore, Denmark—Laurence Olivier as Hamlet, with the Old Vic.
- 1939—Kronberg Castle, Elsinore, Denmark — John Gielgud as Hamlet
Royal Theatre of Greece
- 1947—Kronberg Castle, Elsinore, Denmark

(EDITOR'S NOTE—The Editor is grateful to Miss Anna M. Sturmer, of Kansas State College, and to Mr. Arthur Heine for their help in the compiling of this list.)



QUARTERLY REVIEWS

WALKER'S "THE TIME IS OUT OF JOINT"

By IRVING T. RICHARDS

IN *The Time Is Out of Joint*¹ Roy Walker poises Hamlet between two worlds: the sinful physical world, "the world of appearances," symbolized by Claudius; and the pure spiritual world, "the unseen world," symbolized by the Ghost. Sometimes the latter is symbolized by night's mysteries or the freedom of the open air; sometimes the former by garish day or inconsistently by dark night. Symbolism, indeed, runs rampant in the work. This trait, and also that of deliberate misapplication of quotations to uses not inappropriate but by no means sanctioned in their original context, is illustrated in the following quotation:

The slaying of Polonius is the counterpart of the sparing of Claudius at his prayers. Eavesdropping is an act with no relish of salvation in it, Lucianus strikes hoping to send his adversary's soul to hell. Man, by nature so like a god, is hidden behind the false curtain of appearances. Hamlet's higher nature has no impulse to hold back his hand. There leaps to his mind the spy behind the arras when he talked with Ophelia. The almost demented sorrow and pain of that encounter, the renewed faith in his duty to kill Claudius, the impassioned desire to pierce these smiling, damned surfaces and transfix the unseen corruption that is mining all within, like a rat in the wall gnawing inexorably at the rafters, compel the stroke. And Polonius meets his fitting end. Unable to see through the curtain of appearances behind which he has cleverly concealed himself he does not see the reality of death rushing upon him. His reunion with reality is the agony of the sword in his heart. (p. 102)

¹Andrew Dakars Limited, London, 1948, p. 157.

Mr. Walker seems not to have made the mistake of attributing madness to Hamlet, but finds him at times on the "borderlands of madness." No allusion is made to Hamlet's admonition that he may "think meet / To put an antic disposition on," but the quotation is somewhat ludicrously cut off just at that point (p. 38). Instead, all Hamlet's feigned insanity, including even his humorous horseplay with Polonius and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, is rationalized as heavenly insight. All abnormal behavior, including Ophelia's madness, which Mr. Walker recognizes as such, is attributed to otherworldliness, to spiritual insight. Thus no line is drawn either between sanity and insanity, actual or feigned, or between solemnity and absurdity. All is solemn analysis of the conflict between spiritual perfection and worldly corruption. Hamlet, sired by spiritual perfection upon mundane frailty, is represented as in the end redeemed from base purpose of revenge to become Christ-like, "heaven's scourge and minister."

In his treatment of other roles also, Mr. Walker, mingling real insight with overemphasis of theory, has done violence and misinterpreted action. Claudius becomes evil incarnate, whose vile nature has infected all Denmark, debasing the susceptible characters of Gertrude, Polonius, and Laertes. Ophelia, carrying out the will of her father—largely in extra-textual action,—is mistakenly thought by Hamlet to have exhibited in herself the evil nature of her father and Claudius and drives him to doubt the evidence of his senses, with regard to both her purity and the virtuous authenticity of the Ghost. Mr. Walker is aided in his misinterpretations by considerable rearrangement of parts of the play for purposes of his discussion.

Yet strangely, this oblique view of the play, which throws much of it out of focus, reveals forcefully certain realities of character, such as Hamlet's spiritual integrity, Polonius's diplomatic worldliness, and Ophelia's innocent purity. Even Claudius, here the very symbol of evil, is still recognized as having a conscience that causes him to suffer and regret—"Claudius is an evil spirit, not a monstrosity unaware of his own evil but a man of vision who has submitted to corruption for the sake of worldly power" (p. 132).

The play is unquestionably concerned with the universal conflict of good and evil, and though Mr. Walker's mystic view tends to eliminate everything else from it and thus represent it only remotely and in a single phase, his strong insight into character is coupled with

a charmingly deceptive plausibility of argument and style. As a stimulating off-center approach to the play and its characters, his book may have merit. Its very absurdities compel one to look at action and characters from a new standpoint. Though his character interpretations are not new, they are for the most part better than that: despite the bizarre light in which they are often cast, they are basically sound. He has, however, seriously obfuscated much of the action, such as Hamlet's feigned madness, his early doubt of the identity of the Ghost, and the intellectual duel between him and Claudius. And of course Mr. Walker sees the great "To be, or not to be" soliloquy as a contemplation of suicide. The book views Shakespeare's play from a cloudy and mystic distance, and though this new perspective throws some aspects of it into sharp relief, it at the same time badly obscures others. This can hardly be the way Shakespeare saw it all.

Cambridge Junior College.

MADARIAGA'S "ON HAMLET"

By J. DUNCAN SPAETH

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA'S *On Hamlet*¹ presents Shakespeare's most fascinating and "questionable" character as mirrored in the mind of a Spaniard whose essays on Wordsworth and Shelley, as well as his professorship at Oxford lend prestige to his literary opinions. The book is dedicated to his daughters as "an offering to the poet their mother's country has given to the world" and is the fruit of studies incident to the translation of Hamlet into Spanish. Having listened to Madariaga on Hamlet, one would like to hear Hamlet on Madariaga. His essay, in its protest against what he terms the "sentimental falsification of Hamlet" is a symptom of the modern reaction from Tennysonian idylls to Stracheyan innuendoes at queens and queenliness, sentiment and soulfulness. Having criticized Bradley for "preconceiving Hamlet with a soul so pure and noble," he preconceives a Hamlet whose psychological backbone

¹London, Hollis and Carter, 1948, 130 pp.

(sic) is that of a Borgian and Machiavellian ego-centric, interested only in the urges of his own Ego.

Now Shakespeare, as Boas long ago remarked, has portrayed in many of his characters—Constance, in *King John*, Romeo, Richard II—the sentimentalist whose emotional self-indulgence projects a painted mist between himself and reality, between things as he wishes to see them and things as they are. Even Brutus, who immediately precedes Hamlet fails in action because he is a wishful thinker. But while Shakespeare recognizes this as a tragic fault, he always presents his ego-centrics sympathetically and with redeeming traits. Madariaga ignores Shakespeare's uniform practice of awaking sympathy for his tragic protagonist at the end of the play. The poet's redeeming word is "noble." Of Brutus, "This was the noblest Roman of them all." Of Mark Antony, "The greatest prince o' the world, the noblest." Of Cleopatra, "He words me that I should not be noble to myself." Of Othello, "For he was great of heart," and of Hamlet, "Now cracks a noble heart." Madariaga's Hamlet is no tragic character, but comes near being the villain of the play. We are warned not to take at face value his opinion of Claudius and are told that in the prayer scene Claudius proves himself a better Christian than Hamlet. Poor Hamlet had no murder or incest to confess and this gives the king an advantage over him as a Christian. The truth is, of course, that Hamlet was no "believer," but the eternal human doubter, voicing the mind and mood of his creator, standing on the edge of the known, peering into the Beyond, casting his plummet into the deep, and reporting "no soundings."

In spite of his cavalier attitude toward the historical scholars, Madariaga relies more on "sources" than on the evidence in the play, particularly in his treatment of the Hamlet-Ophelia relationship. He quotes the confused and conflicting reports in Saxo and Belleforest to prove that Hamlet and Ophelia had been in "intimate relations" before the play began. Hamlet never loved Ophelia, he was merely amorous, a typically Latin interpretation of Amour. This is quite in tune with Iago's opinion of the relation between Othello and Desdemona, "Virtue a fig." "Hamlet is by no means that delicate soul that would sigh his pure and lily-white soul under his lady's window. He is rather a full-blooded and foul-mouthed man." Which reminds me of Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister" where peeping

Thomas spies on brother Lawrence watering his damned flower pots,

(He-he! There his lily snaps!)
 Saint, forsooth, while brown Dolores
 Squats outside the convent bank.

This study combines with literal fidelity to the text of Hamlet, a total want of insight into Shakespeare's fundamental valuations of human nature, especially his awareness of the conflict between appearance and reality, between outward show and inner worth. Thus it misses the significance of Hamlet's

Seems, Madam, nay it is, I know not seems.

Madariaga's only comment on this key-note speech is: "A young, strong and courageous man such as he was need not have taken his father's death in the mournful way he does in addressing his mother." Fatuousness could no farther go.

The attention given to this book is not justified by any contribution of value it makes to scholarly criticism, but rather by the appeal it will make "to the general." It voices the iconoclastic mood of much modern thinking which attempts to correct sentimental by cynical falsification. Critical scholarship is surely right in recognizing that Shakespeare's "freedom of creative genius" was frequently limited by the machinery of the plot which he inherited, and which he did not feel free fundamentally to alter. The very discrepancies discoverable by a microscopic analysis are responsible for the multitudinous and mutually conflicting interpretations, such as no other one of Shakespeare's characters has inspired.

Whatever Hamlet failed to achieve, he has succeeded in disclosing the minds of his interpreters. No other play has so stimulated self-revelation, and challenged actor, spectator, reader, and critic at their deepest levels. When we recall the contributions of Señor de Madariaga to international understanding, his active participation in the League of Nations, and his consequent disillusionment, there is deep significance in his characterization of Shakespeare as "an observer of life, *feeling himself very much out of it*, mentally in sympathy, perhaps in unity with all that pageantry which turns into a river of colour the paltry tale told by an idiot, which human history really is." This has the ring of sincerity. Only if you want to report Shakespeare's final

outlook on life, it were better to quote Prospero than Macbeth. Though in his opening page Madariaga praises Shakespeare for being above the strife, and chastises with the valor of his tongue all who would discover in Hamlet the image of his maker, though he assures us that Shakespeare's creatures are alive "precisely because they evade all labels," he then proceeds to clap *his* label on Hamlet, and ends by calling Shakespeare "The Hamlet of Parnassus, and Hamlet the Shakespeare of the stage." If this be rashness on his part, praised be rashness for it. Our indiscretions sometimes serve us most.

Princeton University. (Emeritus)



NOTES AND COMMENT

Mrs. Robert Carlton Morris's services for a life time to the cause of Shakespeare and her efforts as Contributing Editor of *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* may be fittingly memorialized in this issue, which begins our endeavors for the New Year. She sends the following notes.

Prevented by law from entering the teaching profession because of deafness since childhood, she has succeeded nevertheless as a teacher in spreading the "good news" of Shakespeare throughout her native state of Ohio and the Middle West. Now under the additional handicap of age, she still goes about stimulating the Shakespeare groups she has fostered for many years.

The *Stratford Shakespeare Class*, a group organized by Mrs. Morris, recently opened its forty-first year with the study of *Hamlet* in anticipation of attending Sir Laurence Olivier's motion-picture. She also attended the twenty-fifth anniversary of a similar group in Marion, Ohio. Adult groups also continue in Waterville and in Napoleon, Ohio.

The Shakespeare Club in Bowling Green, Ohio, patronized by the faculty of Bowling Green College, has functioned for forty-five years, establishing a public library in the town long before the state college came there.

The new year-book of the Shakespeare Club in Tomah, Wisconsin, reveals their entrance upon their fifty-fourth season.

The Shakespeare Clubs of Toledo have served in presenting to the Toledo Public Library a model of the Globe Theatre after that in the Folger Shakespeare Library at Washington, and in helping the Toledo Museum of Art to buy their Second Folio. The city of Cleveland has been noted for its beautiful Shakespeare Garden mentioned in Gunther's *Inside U. S. A.*

For nearly fifty years Mrs. Morris has been collecting book titles derived from the Bible and Shakespeare. She has in her files one

hundred and forty from *Hamlet* alone and about one thousand taken from Shakespeare, most of them from the tragedies.

In 1916 Mrs. Morris promoted a world-wide movement on the ter-centenary of Shakespeare's death for planting memorial trees. Some thousand trees were planted in Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, England, Canada, France, Australia, etc., the campaign being financed by a bookplate designed by Mrs. Morris and purchased in large quantities by universities, high schools, grade schools, clubs, towns, individuals, and collectors.

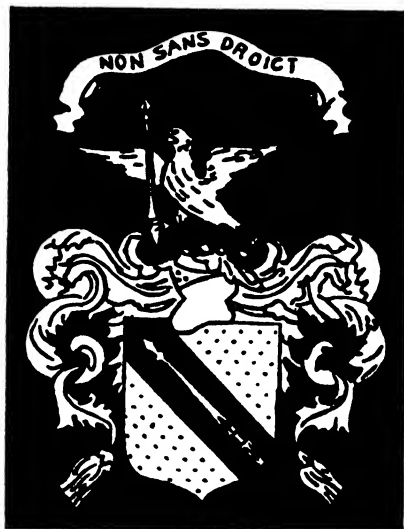
The Shakespeare Association congratulates Mrs. Morris on her life-long endeavors to promote the cause of Shakespeare. It will be glad to hear of the activities of other regional Shakespeare groups in America.

Now in its thirty-second year, The Shakespeare Society of Washington has opened with lectures by Dr. F. S. Tupper, of George Washington University, and by Dr. James G. McManaway, of Folger Shakespeare Library. The President of the Club, Dr. E. V. Wilcox, reports that the regular dramatic production which is given each year in cooperation with the American University, will be presented sometime in May; this year's selection is *The Tempest*. Also on the schedule are vocal renderings of the lyrics, and addresses by Dr. Natalie White and Dr. George Winchester Stone, Jr., both of George Washington University.

A lecture course in Shakespeare by a veteran and much-loved professor at Columbia University, John H. H. Lyon, will be offered by the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia in ten weekly lectures beginning early in February. The course is designed to appeal to the mature person who wants to "get into Shakespeare"—not the Shakespeare of textual scholarship and criticism, but the essential Shakespeare as he is revealed in his plays.

Professor Lyon has long been active as a member and officer in the Shakespeare Association of America and has taught for more than a score of years at Columbia. His classes in the School of General Studies have been popular among adult students because of his rare quality of being both a scholar and a lively interpreter of Shakespeare.

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



Percy Mackaye's Plays on *Hamlet*

Shakespeare's Play of Atonement

The Structure of the First Globe Theatre

Julius Caesar at the Folger Shakespeare Library

Shakespeare and His Contemporaries

VOLUME XXIV

APRIL, 1949

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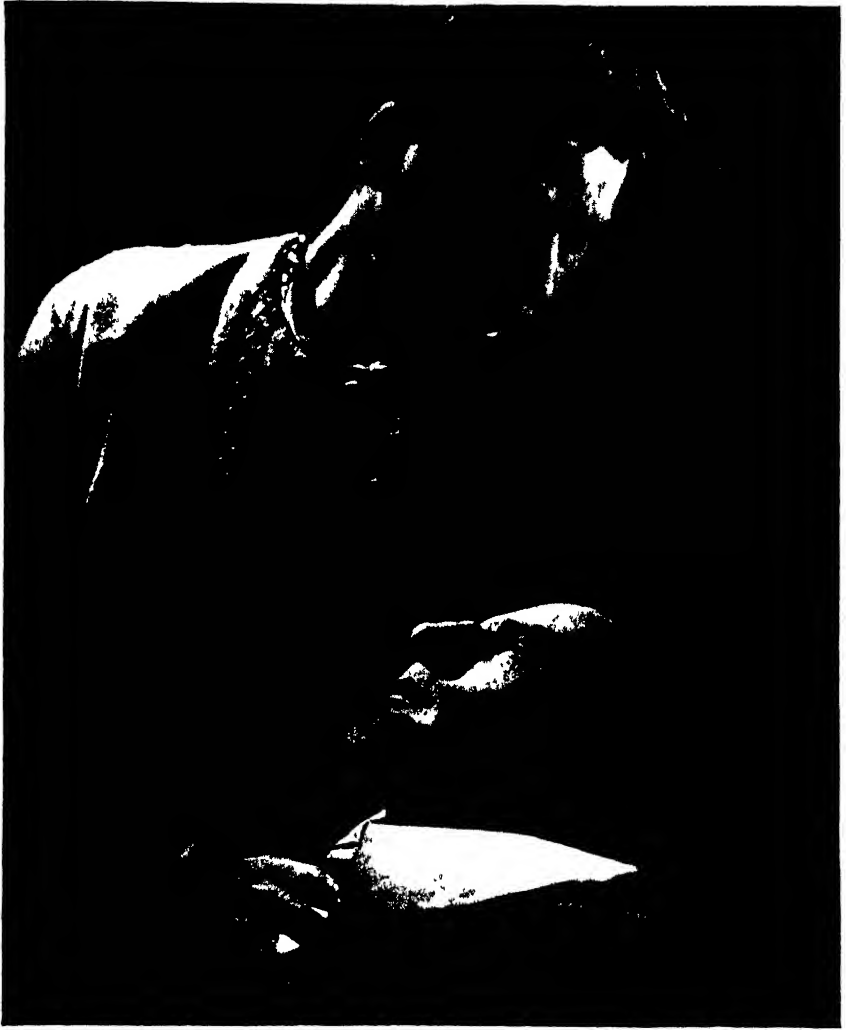
NUMBER TWO

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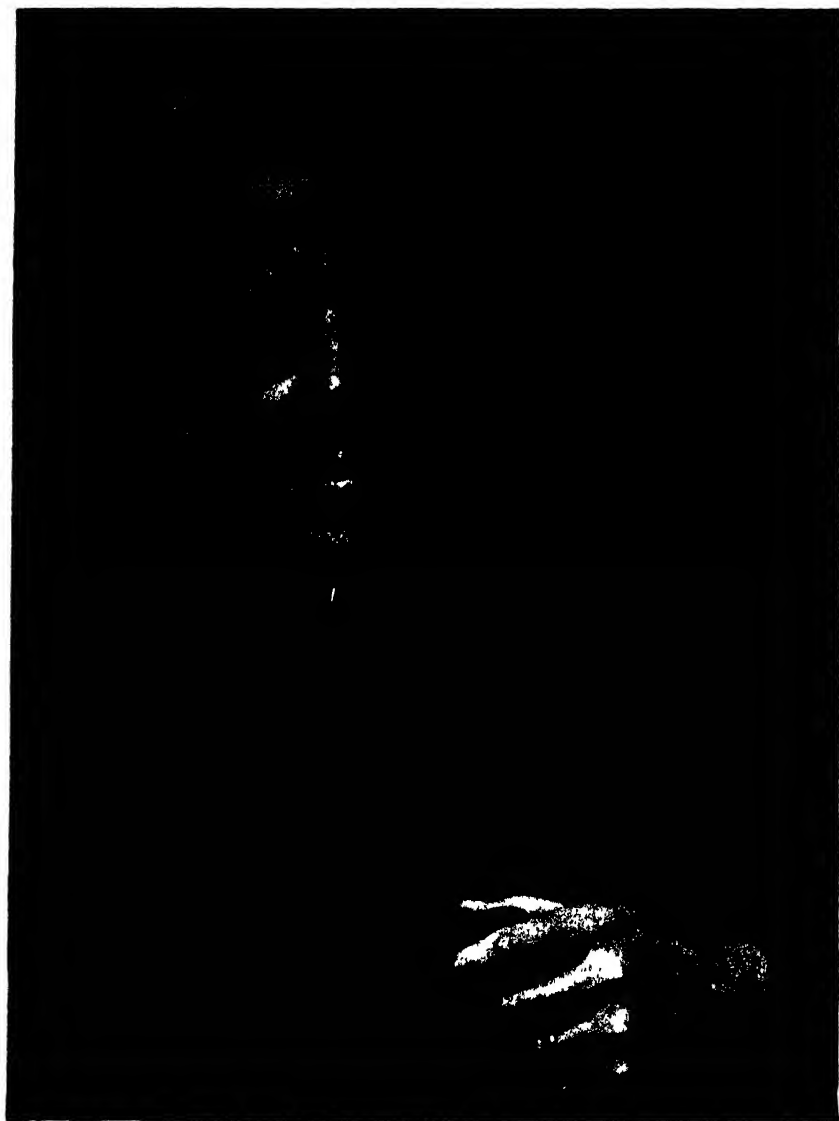
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"AS YOU LIKE IT" - ADAM (JAMES WELLMAN) IS SAVED FROM DEATH BY ORLANDO (PIERRE LIEFVRE) IN THE YOUNG VIC PRODUCTION BY GLEN BYAM SHAW. PHOTOGRAPH IS BY JOHN VICKERS OF LONDON (SEE ARTICLE ON "SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF ATONEMENT" BY WARREN STAEBLER ON PAGE 91)



PERCY MACKAYE FROM A PHOTO-PORTRAIT BY ETHEL PRILS OF NEW YORK.



PERCY MACKAYE'S PLAYS ON *HAMLET*

BY HENRY W. WELLS

IN THE justly celebrated Pasadena Playhouse, under the direction of Mr. Gilmore Brown, plays were performed this April having uncommon interest to persons in any way concerned with Shakespeare. These plays are by the poet and dramatist, Percy MacKaye, whose services as poetic interpreter of Shakespeare have been of long standing, and are descended from the devotion of a numerous and successful theatrical family. The new plays themselves constitute a tetralogy, under the general title, *The Mystery of Hamlet King of Denmark, or What We Will*. The four dramas are further described as a "Prologue" to Shakespeare's tragedy. In sequence they are: "The Ghost of Elsinore," "The Fool in Eden Garden," "Odin Against Christ," and "The Serpent in the Orchard." These works were produced successively on April fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth, and continued in a program lasting till the first of May. Of greater interest to the public as a whole will be the publication of the plays. A strictly limited edition will be printed during the summer, with the regular trade edition appearing early in the fall. The publisher, Bond Wheelwright, is also bringing out at about the time of the stage productions in California an elaborate brochure with some explanation of this extremely unusual adventure in play-writing, play producing, and publication.

Since the plays are already a reality on the stage, they may in the correct Elizabethan sense of the word be said already to have been "published," for they have ceased to be a private and become a public concern. The major interest, nevertheless, clearly centers upon the text rather than on the performance in a single playhouse which, however considerable may be its prestige, is unhappily remote from most readers of this journal. The future of the work on the stage must remain problematical and there is relatively little occasion to review here these initial performances in Pasadena. There is, however, a very real occasion for reviewing such an extraordinary

tribute to Shakespeare, and poetry and playwriting of so unusual a character.

Whatever critics or the public may conclude regarding all this activity, in almost every respect it should be obvious that the playwright has broken with rules and conventions. Mr. Brown's venture in producing a sequence of plays on any theme, not to mention so rare a one as this, is out of the ordinary, although the Pasadena Playhouse is distinguished for its dramatic festivals. Even a brief inspection of the texts of the plays shows that this veteran producer is at least taking a reasonable chance, for they are as daring and provocative in their execution as in their subject. They bear, of course, some likeness to earlier Shakespeariana and to previous work by the same author. It may also be recalled that among the last works of Gerhart Hauptmann is a poetic drama, *Hamlet at Wittenberg*. But Mackaye's plays are not new merely in the length to which their project extends; they are also fresh in quality, distinctly unlike what MacKaye himself or anyone else has thus far done. The rarity itself obviously provokes comment.

It is the guess of the present writer that the four plays, differing radically from what has gone before them, will also be unlike what will come after them; the mythology of Hamlet may be endless, but MacKaye has explored almost to the limit this particular province.

Before any substantial support can be given these statements, a little more factual account of the plays is required. They are a dramatic evocation of the antecedent action of Shakespeare's tragedy, written in a style neither pedantically imitative of the Elizabethan nor at any time divorced from warm contact with the spirit of Elizabethan verse. A considerable number of lines from *Hamlet* are even incorporated in MacKaye's work. One of the least forseen comments that can be made by the present reviewer is that, at least in his eyes, neither Shakespeare's lines nor MacKaye's appear out of place. The percentage of lines borrowed is not great, and MacKaye uses relatively no more gold taken from Shakespeare than Shakespeare, presumably, uses silver taken from an UrHamlet.

The series opens with "The Ghost of Elsinore," a play covering in time the period from thirty years before the opening of *Hamlet* to the birth of Shakespeare's hero. In theme, it examines the "central

mystery of immortality wherein" in the words of the Playhouse announcement, "the living and the dead, the poet and his dæmon, the actor and the protagonist meet in a timeless borderland that is neither past nor future but the all-present, evoked by the symbolic cock who heralds the coming of the light to all who watch." Yorick is the central figure of the second play, "The Fool in Eden Garden," "the gentle fool . . . from whom the young prince learns the magic insight of love, by some called madness." "Odin against Christus" is a pagan play of revenge; a play of suspicion and terror, of King Hamlet, away at the Polish wars, victim to his brother's designs. And finally, "The Serpent in the Orchard" is a drama of madness and fate-driven tragedy, in which "a maddened monarch becomes a mad ghost, ridden still with the insatiable passion of revenge."

Shakespeare's play enjoys an extraordinary depth of temporal perspective, an aspect which contributes to the metaphysical character of the play, which is almost equally concerned with poignant memories and fears of things to come. Into this profoundly fascinating world of the imagination MacKaye has walked and there made himself thoroughly at home, where he may be regarded as even immune from the frowns of Professor Stoll. For the exact critic, this world is, as Professor Stoll has observed, a treacherous bog; yet it may well be a paradise for the creative imagination, where the poet is definitely out of bounds so far as the academic objections are concerned. The scholar cannot know about Hamlet's youth where no such data are provided in the original play; if he pretends to such knowledge, he becomes absurd. But if a new poet imagines such things, it is obvious that he merely enlarges the world of the imagination.

The entire project, however, should raise certain natural doubts and fears in the mind of any intelligent reader today, although these apprehensions will, I think, on close inspection vanish. It may conceivably be urged that modern trilogies and tetralogies are usually pretentious, although the French motion pictures, *Cesare*, *Marius* and *Fanny*, constitute one of the finest art works of our age. Our hurried times frown on three-volume novels, works as long as the sequences of Aeschylus, the six books of *The Faerie Queene*, or even, perhaps, the tetralogy of Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelungen*, which this year is being mulcted of one of its members in the New York performances. Moreover, I believe that even the most enthusiastic Shakespearean

scholar must admit that although the great playwright has supplied untold inspiration to countless artists and writers in many tongues, he has been a most dangerous model, even for Englishmen and Americans. There are special reasons for this condition, reasons too seldom examined. The feelings for both language and the theatre in all periods after Shakespeare have differed in very important respects from these feelings in his own times. The structure of the language has changed, just as the structure of the theatre has changed. Since 1642 the world has nowhere seen anything closely resembling the old buildings, such as the Fortune or the Globe, nor anything like the peculiar sensitivity for speech enjoyed by Shakespeare's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. As result, all mere imitation of Shakespeare, either as producer or as poet, whether on or off the stage, has always labored under almost unsurmountable difficulties. In our own period not only have the eighteenth and nineteenth century imitations become far less satisfactory than they once were, but all such imitations have fallen under ever deepening suspicion. "Inimitable" has been the substantive implied in our best criticism of the Shakespearean style, whether in acting or in poetry. Not only have frank echoes of late been fewer. We have come to feel that many of the saddest squanderings of English genius have been in the pages of poets, from Thomas Otway and James Thomson to Swinburne and Tennyson, where open imitation of Shakespeare has been attempted. Hundreds of poetic tragedies have shipwrecked on this fatal shoal. Shakespeare is surely one of our greatest inspirations, but it is no less sure that he proves as a rule one of our worst models. He has been a blessing for those who have read him imaginatively, a tyrant to those who have followed him literally.

Are Mackaye's plays, then, as they so easily might be, pretentious in length and fatuous in their style, which undoubtedly approaches the Elizabethan to its own peril? In the opinion of the present writer they fall properly under neither of these aspersions. In their ambitious project, the ambition seems warranted and, with only minor exceptions, a sound style is achieved and maintained. But this judgment appears to violate the general rule in English literary criticism that augurs ill for close imitation of Shakespeare. Have times changed? How can this be accounted for?

In the first place, there is the personal equation of their author. Several of his earlier books may properly be regarded as experimental

sketches for this. His principal studies have been a long discipline to this end. He has written plays and many lyrics using Shakespearean themes. These include his well-known "Masque," *Caliban*, and *A Garland to Sylvia*. His plays and critical essays on the theatre have at least opened numerous doors leading in the direction of the older and freer speech and theatre of the Elizabethans. It is by no means irrelevant to recall that he has always lived in an atmosphere haunted by Shakespeare, which is easily imagined when one remembers that his father, Steele MacKaye, whose life he has written in great detail, staged almost countless productions of Shakespeare, was the first American to play *Hamlet* in London, and the only actor from abroad to perform the leading role in French on the stage of the Comedie Française. But all this background must appear merely preparatory to MacKaye's present work, which both is and is not by a new hand. It profits from years of trial and error, during which its prolific author gained much strength and shed many encumbrances. It profits still more by a long period of silent maturing, during which new values in taste and a new intellectual climate were being created in the world. The tetralogy opens upon altogether new prospects, is more serious art than any remotely of its kind. Above all, it suggests certain important reorientations of the modern mind toward poetry itself and toward both Elizabethan poetry and stage. The tetralogy could not, I think, have been written thirty years ago, when MacKaye composed his *Caliban*.

In the climate of the present times some explanation must be found for the more intimate relation between the Elizabethans and ourselves, between their style and theatre and ours. The answers, paradoxical as it may seem, lie at once in the superior naturalness and the heightened artificiality of the modern media of expression. We are today rapidly leaving behind us both Augustan and Romantic rhetoric. In their place comes a more direct expression of experience. We are also learning that such direct and spontaneous expression may itself imply a departure from mere naturalism, as the spontaneous and highly expressive drawing of a child does not show the lines and shadows pictured by the camera. At least the more educated modern minds are becoming more appreciative of useful artifice, whether in language or in stagecraft. We are living not in the most refined or successful age but in by far the most dynamic age which the arts, and especially the dramatic arts, have ever known.

The evolution is above all within the theatre itself. The old trunk of the theatre is rapidly putting forth new branches such as drama for film, radio and television. Within these mechanized spheres at least ninety-five percent of America's dramatic energy is now being exercised. Each of these new arts, especially in its initial stages, quickly formulates fairly strict conventions. They are also direct and democratic arts, as were so many phases of the Elizabethan theatre. Shakespeare's age saw a new English speech and a new English theatre come rapidly into being. We ourselves see plays for film, radio and television swiftly developing along the same generic lines as the old speech and drama. Hence a new birth of sensitivity respecting Shakespeare and the Elizabethans comes into existence. And hence we may in part account for the success with which MacKaye's work may reasonably be expected to reach its audience and its readers today. The student of modern poetry and theatre in general and of Shakespeare and his language in particular does well to ponder all parts of MacKaye's work. It should be fruitful of both pleasure and thought. Far from being either retrospective or eccentric, as the subject and form suggest, it is a remarkably sober and solidly based achievement in a strictly modern poetic drama with its roots not in pedantic antiquarianism but in the rich and inexhaustible soil of the greatest of English classics. New conditions have removed old barriers, making possible a warm and intimate contact with the Elizabethan poet and dramatist as well as with the modern public.

Columbia University Dramatic Museum

Mr Brooks Atkinson in his review of the tetralogy, in the Sunday Theatre section of the *New York Times* for April 24th, pays tribute to the magnitude of the venture attempted by the Pasadena Playhouse. He points out that Mr Mackaye has produced a work overwhelming in its demands upon the actors and the producer—as well as upon the audience. "Shakespeare," he says, "set down the speeches for his actors with gusto in the racy idiom of his day", while Mr Mackaye "decorates his dramas with ornamental literary words and with allusions to classical and Christian lore, which scholars are best able to appreciate." Mr Atkinson acknowledges the "genuine poetry" of this Hamlet cycle, but, essentially a critic of the theatre, he finds the gigantic work not completely suitable to the modern audience or the modern producer of Broadway. This in itself adds to the credit due Gilmore Brown's Playhouse, but it magnifies, too, the importance of the forthcoming publication of the work in full—a fundamentally literary achievement. Information may be obtained from the publishers, Bond Wheelwright and Company, 145 East 63rd Street, New York City, N. Y. (Editor's note)



SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF ATONEMENT

BY WARREN STAEBLER

Then is there mirth in heaven,
When earthly things made even
Atone together.

As You Like It, V, iv, 114-6

THIRTY years ago the English music critic Ernest Newman wrote a slight piece entitled "The Music of Felicity." In it he observed that even the greatest composers have rarely written in felicitous moods, and so he was unable to bring to mind a single work felicitous in its entirety. Preeminent among the felicitous parts of works, however, he found the opening of the last movement of the Cesar Franck violin and piano sonata, with its flowing theme in canon between the two instruments; this, he said, gave him "the fullest sense of felicity, of the happy poise of all the faculties of the body, and all the forces of the world."

As You Like It has long been my favorite Shakespeare comedy, but it was not until I came across Ernest Newman's little essay that I realized that I preferred it to the others because it is a play of felicity. And it was not until three years ago, when I read it intensively after a long absence from it, that I understood why it impressed me as felicitous. It is marked by no rapture, no lovers' ecstasy, no exuberant high spirits, not even joyous happiness, but by an even, unruffled well being, a serenity which, perhaps for want of a better word, must be called felicity. Its key is C major and its tempo is allegro, but always allegro moderato never allegro agitato or con brio. It communicates much of the "plain delight" which for Chaucer's franklin constituted perfect felicity.

To be sure, *As You Like It* has long been popular among performers as well as readers of Shakespeare, and innumerable encomiums, I suppose, could be cited on various virtues of its story, its

characters, and its atmosphere. Foreigners as well as English-speaking folk have loved it. Stendhal, for example, found it "all diamonds and gold" and was quickened by its "fraîcheur." And indeed it is unique in its atmosphere, for it is suffused with a singular combination of autumnal mellowness and spring freshness and vivacity. But the extraordinary thing is that its atmosphere is not the result of poetic virtuosity or imaginative fancy as is that of *Love's Labors Lost* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but the reflection of an attitude toward life, the emanation of a spirit, the aura of a mind. It is not a funny play, for it is high comedy, not a comedy of jokes. Yet although it is not funny, it includes fun along with other things—wit, sentiment, sentimentality, and pathos. It is the product of a being all of whose faculties were in equipoise. It is serene because it was created by Shakespeare when he was at-one with life; it is therefore, in the Elizabethan sense of the word, a play of atonement, or, to use a modern word, a play of perfect adjustment. For this reason a unique harmony pervades it.

The principal characters are at-one with themselves, with their fellows, and with nature. There is extraordinary wisdom and maturity in the way they look at life. To be so wise and mature and "atoned" demands that they see things as they are; they are, in fact, admirably disillusioned for theirs is a disillusionment untainted by cynicism. Even Corin the shepherd, lowly and inconsequential though he is, exhibits this atonement for he is content with earning what he eats and getting what he wears and owes no man hate, envies no man's happiness, is glad of other men's good, and undisturbed by his own harm.

The Duke in *Measure for Measure*, it will be recalled, was described as "one that, above all other strifes, contended especially to know himself." There is no evidence in *As You Like It* that Rosalind, Jaques, the banished Duke, and Touchstone have either patiently or zealously striven all their lives to know themselves, but the fact is that they do know themselves and in their knowledge are at-one with themselves. They accept, and can laugh at, themselves. The miracle is that so young (for none of them are old) and so little exercised by life, they are what they are. It is true that Jaques has only recently attained his atonement, for the Duke, chiding him for what he considers momentary mistaken zeal to reform the world, reminds him that he has

. . . been a libertine
As sensual as the brutish sting itself.
(II, vii, 65-66)

And it is probably safe to assume that he has left behind his unenlightened ways because he felt the need of so doing. He, then, it is likely, has made some effort to know himself, but the others seem naturally to have grown into self-knowledge. Rosalind as Ganymede is honest with herself and with Celia in defining the character of her state with Orlando; she knows the foolishness of love and indeed in her disguise has told Orlando all that an enlightened worldling should know of it and its false claims, but she cannot as a creature of flesh and blood resist the pleasure it brings and so with a sigh over the conquest of her clear-sightedness by "that blind rascally boy that abuses every one's eyes because his own are out," confesses that she cannot be out of the sight of Orlando and can only sigh in a shadow until he comes. She is not angry with Phebe because she thinks her cruel; she is indignant that she does not know the limitations of her person and place and aspires in love beyond herself. Accordingly she admonishes her good-naturedly:

But, mistress, know yourself Down on your knees,
And thank heaven, fasting, for a good man's love;
For I must tell you friendly in your ear,
Sell when you can; you are not for all markets.

(III, v, 57-60)

Jaques passes for a melancholy fellow, but his is a consciously cultivated melancholy of a highly eclectic brand and he describes for Rosalind the many simples of which it is compounded. The feelings which he has studied how to indulge sensitively and aesthetically afford him a connoisseur's pleasure. He knows this and admits it and therefore can say with truth that he can suck melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs. But he does not while away his earthly time only by playing the man of variegated sentiment; he is also a philosopher, with the true philosopher's detachment toward things. Moved by Touchstone's laconic simplification of life to a ripening from hour to hour followed by a rotting from hour to hour, and inspired by a sudden perception of folly, or satirical laughter, as the one effectual means of reforming human beings and getting them to lead reasonable lives, he thinks of himself, invested with a fool's prerogatives, wandering over the globe, through and through cleans-

ing its foul infected body. But his ardor has not carried him away or befogged his perspective. An important "if" attaches to the success which he, or anyone, as moral physician can attain. He can purify human beings only *if* they will patiently receive his medicine! What balance, what absence of illusion!

The principal characters are as much at-one with their fellow human beings as with themselves. The most conspicuous examples of close, affectionate, but unselfish ties are the friendships of Rosalind and Celia and of Adam and Orlando. But the relation between Jaques and the Duke is perhaps almost as close, though much less demonstratively so. They value each other's company for the play of mind it affords, the Duke loving most to "cope" Jaques in his "sullen fits," since he finds him then "full of matter." Jaques, however, finds the Duke occasionally disputatious in their exchanges, and caring too much for their friendship (as well as for his own privacy of mind) to allow it to be endangered by prolonged controversy, not seldom takes pains like a reasonable man to avoid his company.

I think of as many matters as he; but I give
heaven thanks, and make no boast of them

(II, v, 37-38)

Toward others with whom he is less intimate, Jaques is good-natured, although sometimes his sense of irony and quickness of perception lead him to be impudent in his replies to them. Even so, he is never guilty of malice. Early in the play after Amiens has brought him the not-welcome news that the Duke is looking for him and will soon arrive, he sings a satirical verse in which he laughs at himself as an ass and gross fool for having left his wealth and ease only to become employed in pleasing the stubborn will of the Duke. Amiens, puzzled, inquires about Jaques' refrain of "Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame" and is told,

'Tis a Greek invocation to call fools into a
circle I'll go sleep, if I can; if I cannot,
I'll rail against all the first-born of Egypt.

(II, v, 61-63)

A little later, after Jaques is seated with the Duke and the rest of his company at their greensward banquet, Orlando bursts on them with his sword drawn, desperate in search of food for aged Adam, and commands, "Forbear, and eat no more." Jaques remonstrates, "Why

I have eat none yet," and then, giving him up for a maddened cock, reaches for some fruit in spite of his threat that whoever touches it dies till he and his affairs are answered: "An you will not be answered: "An you will not be answered with reason, I must die." No rejoinder could be more characteristic. In his regenerated state he is essentially a man of reason unable to communicate with anybody whose responses to life have ceased to be rational. But he does not damn those who are irrational, or exploit them; he ignores them, without contempt. Since they do not enter his sphere there is no danger of collision with them. Nor does he deride those who like himself have undergone regeneration but now live by a different discipline and evaluate life through a different medium. Often sensual sinners redeemed by religion become passionate proselytizers seeking after their kind to shock them into righteousness with fearful Jeremiads, as witness various notorious American evangelists. Not so Jaques. He has been redeemed by reason and the light he has seen is that of luminous intelligence. When he learns at the end of the play that the usurping Duke upon his entrance into the Forest of Arden has repented of his bad deeds, repudiated all his worldly gains, and "put on a religious life," he exclaims,

To him will I. Out of these convertites
There is much matter to be heard and learn'd.

(V, iv, 190-191)

Such a phenomenon is something to be examined dispassionately and with pleasurable profit, too, for what he can learn about a temperament and experience alien to his own. As he tells Rosalind, the one important thing about his life, the thing which compensates for all losses, is what he has gained in the way of experience. And in his amused eyes humanity is not to be despised for it is always affording the stuff out of which new experience, no matter how slight, can be shaped.

As for Orlando, stereotyped character though he is, it is significant that in spite of the indignities he has suffered, he bears no malice against humanity, or as we should say, society, and is not out to get even with the world. In his speech to Rosalind and Celia just before his wrestling match with Charles, he reveals his dispassionate adaptation to his lot. In its expression, true, part of this may be a little fulsome, for he was after all unschooled in such things, but

what it reveals of his modesty and fortunate disposition cannot be gainsaid.

. . . if I be foil'd, there is but one
sham'd that was never gracious; if kill'd, but one
dead that is willing to be so. I shall do my
friends no wrong, for I have none to lament me;
the world no injury, for in it I have nothing.
Only in the world I fill up a place, which may
be better supplied when I have made it empty.

(I, ii, 199-205)

It is true that in the very first scene, quarreling with his unjust brother, he denies that he is a villain with a terrible threat:

Wert thou not my brother, I would not take this
hand from thy throat till this other had pull'd
out thy tongue for saying so.

(I, i, 61-63)

After he has learned from Adam that Oliver is planning to murder him and has agreed to flee, even though he has not the remotest idea of how he will sustain himself, he pledges himself never to beg or rob humanity in order to do it; he is ready rather to subject himself to the malice of his bloody brother. When he does threaten the Duke and his company in the forest with his naked sword, to rob them of food, he is not driven by his own plight but by that of Adam, his benefactor. Later on when he finds Oliver sleeping in the forest, he does not take advantage of this circumstance to retaliate on him; rather he saves his life from the lion about to prey on him, at considerable risk of his own.

As for the at-onement of the characters with nature, as much as can be said has already been said about the humanizing, harmonizing influence of the Forest of Arden upon all who enter it. The beneficence of nature in this play is as romantically idealized by Shakespeare as it was ever to be two centuries later by Wordsworth or Byron or Shelley. Indeed the Forest is much like a prototype of the blessed isle-haven of which Shelley dreams in his "Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills," where "the love which heals all strife" is so operative as instantaneously to transform any of "the polluting multitude" who find their way there and set foot upon its shores. It is because the Forest provides such magical power that the two vil-

lains in *As You Like It*, Oliver and the usurping Duke, are healed of their villany as soon as they reach it and harmony restored between them and those they have wronged, so that the two discords sounded early in the play are at its close resolved into perfect concord. But it is not this power of nature to transmute base metals into gold which I want to discuss here. Nor is it the cheerful, sane acceptance by the Duke and his comrades of the inclemencies of weather as they live close to the earth, or their humanitarian sympathy for the beasts whom they have dispossessed and are forced to slaughter for their food, although both these things (the first more than the second) are in due measure good. When I say that the characters of *As You Like It* are at-one with nature, I have in mind the physical facts of life, the flux of things of which they themselves are part. They accept their animal, vegetable selves and the end as well as the functions by which they are inevitably characterized. The most important physical fact of life is growth followed by decay and dissolution, or death; and to this the characters of *As You Like It* are reconciled genially and compassionately. Touchstone voices most succinctly, at once tender and amused, his acceptance of this fact, and Jaques, marveling as he listens, subscribes to it:

And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot;
And thereby hangs a tale.

(II, vii, 26-28)

A few minutes later Jaques himself, in his "All the world's a stage," in more detail, describes the subtle changes which overtake the flesh in its brief, arc-like voyage through time. The end of it,

. . . second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything,

(II, vii, 165-166)

he accepts equably. No repining on the one hand over the sadness of it; no belly laughter on the other over its ludicrousness, in burlesque of its physical deformities. The passage has been justly famous. Although it is not explicitly voiced by them, this attitude is essentially that of the other major characters; and even Adam, lesser figure though he is, in accepting his age as a frosty but kindly winter, shows us that he shares it. Indeed on the theme of time, touched eloquently in every play, Shakespeare has woven a number of variations in *As*

You Like It. In addition to Jaques' speech on the seven ages of man and Touchstone's observation on ripening and rotting, there are Rosalind's elucidation to Orlando of Time traveling "in divers paces with divers persons" and the sounding of "carpe diem" in the songs, notably in "It was a lover and his lass" at the end.

The chief fact of animal existence is sex, and to this, no less than to the mutability and death of earthly things, the men and women of *As You Like It* are reconciled, Rosalind and Touchstone having most to say about it. In short, living in the body they are not at all reluctant to say they are of the body, with its appetites and instincts. It may be that Elizabethans spoke more frankly, or less self-consciously, about their bodies and about sex than we do now, but even if this were so, the wholesome, rounded candor of *As You Like It* could not be accounted for simply by this fact. There is frank talk, too, among men and women in the other comedies, much more sophisticated, but it does not bear the same relation to everything that is said as does that of *As You Like It*—it does not grow naturally out of an underlying view of things uniform among the characters. We see in the other comedies the brilliant plucked petals of the flower as they are scattered here and there by the poet; but in *As You Like It* we see the complete flower, the petals and the stem to which they are attached, flourishing serenely in the sunlit air. The lesser functions of the body, even that of perspiration, when they are mentioned, are touched on with good-natured humor.

Love for Touchstone is a phenomenon of the blood, an impulsion of the body toward an object which, because of a crystallization of certain substances within the flesh, has become desirable to it. So with purposeful seeming incongruity he describes his state to Jaques:

As the ox hath his bow, sir, the horse his curb,
and the falcon her bells, so man hath his desires;
and as pigeons bill, so wedlock would be nibbling.

(III, ii, 80-82)

At the end of the play in joining with Audrey what he calls "the rest of the country copulatives," he is honest and informs us that he is both swearing and forswearing, for although marriage binds, blood breaks. For him, as for a more recent analyst of the subject, Proust, love consists of "les intermittences du cœur." And for Rosalind, too, for she knows to what extent it is chemical in its nature. She has seen Oliver and Celia fall in love at sight; in their blandishments toward

one another and in their preoccupation with their state, she knows that they have

made a pair of stairs to marriage which they
will climb incontinent, or else be incontin-
ent before marriage. They are in the very
wrath of love and they will be together. Clubs
cannot part them.

(V, ii, 41-45)

To the great legendary fictions about romantic love she cannot subscribe; there is for her no grand passion. Such tales as those of the suicide of Troilus over love of Cressida and of the martyrdom through drowning of Leander for love of Hero

. . . are all lies.

Men have died from time to time and worms
have eaten them, but not for love.

(IV, i, 106-108)

Troilus simply "had his brains dash'd out with a Grecian club," and Leander, while taking a bath in the Hellespont, was simply stricken with cramps. But there is no bitterness, no sourness in her disbelief. On the contrary, it is with sympathy that she smiles at the credulity of a world by which such myths are perpetuated from generation to generation to delude the minds of young men like Orlando and young women like Phebe. As for marriage as a man-made institution for the confinement of sexual love, with something of his amused eye for human absurdities, she believes it to be generally as little stable and lasting as Touchstone himself. She has seen too many tempers run out, too many vows weaken—in short, too much conjugal passion die and too much infidelity take its place to see it under any glamor.

No, no, Orlando. Men are April when they woo, December when they wed; maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives. (IV, i, 147-149)

Make the doors upon a woman's wit and it will out at the casement; shut that and 'twill out at the keyhole; stop that, 'twill fly with the smoke out at the chimney, (IV, i, 163-166)

not unlikely on its way to her neighbor's bed. Nevertheless, in spite

of all that she says to disabuse Orlando of his infatuation and—who knows?—perhaps to rid herself of the stirring within her blood, she cannot resist the appeal of the young man (who, it must be admitted, has other things than his physical beauty and prowess to recommend him) and takes him to her in marriage, for better or for worse.

And so all the absurd, the distasteful, the sad, even the ugly, things of life are openly faced and serenely accepted by the memorable figures of *As You Like It*. The elusiveness of time, the ephemerality of beauty and love and life are touched in this play with a warmth and compassion which recall Ecclesiastes. Dust we are, and dust to dust we return. Purged by the sympathy and clear vision of Jaques, Touchstone, and Rosalind, the gross is no longer gross. They are reconciled to their mortality. And yet it is this same mortality which constitutes the rock on which later protagonists in the tragedies are to be wrecked. Lear morbidly will not let supplicating Gloucester kiss his hand until he has wiped it first because it "smells of mortality." The world of the flesh is for Hamlet with his morbid mind an "unweeded garden" possessed only by things rank and gross, the universe nothing but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapors, and human beings having outgrown their youth and health, sheer monstrosities, half-witted, weak-hammed, with wrinkled faces and matter-leaking eyes. What a far cry from Jaques and Touchstone! As for physical love, a man and woman in each other's arms are to Hamlet only the sun breeding maggots in a dead dog, which he says is a good kissing carrion. Sexual union is equally abhorrent to Lear, and he anathematizes females as Centaurs from the waist down, with burning, scalding, stench, consumption beneath their girdles. Contrast his revulsion at the thought of lecherous copulation somewhere every moment in the animal world, even among the wrens and flies, with Touchstone's humorous chiding of Corin for making his living by the bringing together of his rams and ewes.

As I have said, the characters of *As You Like It* are resigned to the judgment on them by Time, whom Rosalind characterizes as "the old justice that examines all . . . offenders." On the contrary Macbeth, although he, too, sees the world as a stage and all the men and women merely players, finds no rhythm, no pattern, no bearing of any fruit in the course they follow, only man as a shadow acting his part in

. . . a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

(V, v, 26-28)

And he translates Touchstone's ripening and rotting from hour to hour into a relentless, meaningless creeping in of a petty pace from day to day

To the last syllable of recorded time.

(V, v, 21)

He has no compassionate atonement, only savage self-incrimination and uncompromising resentment of the inscrutable system of things. And as for self-knowledge,

Men must endure
Their going hence, even as their coming hither;
Ripeness is all,

(V, ii, 9-11)

says Edgar in *King Lear*, and the unforgettable figures of *As You Like It*, by exhibiting an extraordinary ripeness, bear him out. Yet Lear himself, we learn from Goneril and Regan, has all his life so slenderly known himself that the best of him has been but rashness. No wonder, then, that he brings the pillars of the universe crashing down about him in dreadful tumult and must pay even with his heart's pulse for the degree of ripeness which he attains belatedly by the time of his imprisonment with Cordelia.

Mellowness, or ripeness, of course, consists with moderation. And, especially considering the October sunlight which lights up and warms its atmosphere, it is not at all un-apt to call *As You Like It* a play of the golden mean. The characters are thinking beings and Jaques is not alone in feeling it imperative to say in a crisis with another human being, "An you be not answered with reason, I must die." Rosalind is probably the most sweetly reasonable of all the characters; therefore excess is repugnant to her. In her first encounter with Jaques, she observes, "They say you are a melancholy fellow." And, without giving as careful consideration as he usually does to his answer, he says bluntly, "I am so; I do love it better than laughing." Whereupon Rosalind seizes on his admission to admonish him:

Those that are in extremity of either are abominable fellows, and betray themselves to every modern censure worse than drunkards.

(IV, i, 5-7)

Excesses of the mind or of feeling are to her worse than sensual excess; either giddiness or melancholy is more censurable than drunkenness. And she tries to put some manhood back into smitten, languishing Silvius by showing him that in "the extremity of love" for Phebe he has become as spineless as a tame snake, in short, a fool. But the important thing to keep in mind is that the reason of the men and women of *As You Like It* is not one which refuses to keep company with affection, or appetite, or instinct. They are reasonable rather than rational beings; for a rational being, like Swift, is unreasonable in his rationality whereas a reasonable man, like Samuel Johnson, knows when to stop reasoning and heed and embrace his emotions, his instincts, or his prejudices, and to call a truce with the follies of society about him which it is beyond his power to correct. As I said earlier, all the faculties of the chief figures of *As You Like It* are in equipoise, which is only another way of saying, I suppose, that they are thoroughly, warmly human. And so although she cannot, being a creature of reason, believe in love as a grand passion, Rosalind must, being reasonable, accept love for its instinctual pleasure and gratification, and give and take affection sweetly.

Jaques is sometimes thought to be an individual wrapped up in himself, devoid of instinctual trust or love. He certainly appears unsusceptible to love—erotic love, that is—but this may be because he has outgrown it. But it is surely wrong to say that he is without instinctual trust or affection. Adherent of reason though he is, his heart is not in the least atrophied. He is not only free of malice or suspicion toward people in general; he is affectionately disposed to those in particular among whom he has chosen to make his lot. Shakespeare after all gives him what is really the last word—a series of benedictions as he disposes of the various male characters who have been involved in the complications of the play. These are spoken with affectionate good will, even though it means recommending some of them to their marriage beds.

Indeed *As You Like It* is the most human and down-to-earth of all Shakespeare's comedies, for it deals exclusively with human beings

and their relation to themselves and to the good earth. It is free of the preciousness of *Love's Labors Lost*, the fantasy of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the barbed wit and sinister undertones of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the cruelty of *Twelfth Night*, and the magic of *The Tempest*. There is nothing in it of our relation to powers supra-human—nothing of astral determinism, nothing of any divinity, and only a few mentions of Fortune, or chance, the most important occurring in the second scene of the play when Rosalind and Celia playfully distinguish between the offices of Fortune and those of Nature as they affect their state. God, I believe, is mentioned only once, and then inconsequentially, in Jaques' "Nay, then, God buy you, an you talk in blank verse," as he takes leave of Rosalind following their first meeting. And "heaven" occurs only occasionally, in hardly more significant fashion, as when Touchstone tells Jaques that he is not to be called fool until heaven has sent him fortune. Benjamin Franklin tells in his *Autobiography* about offering hospitality to the traveling evangelist Whitefield and then, Whitefield having said that he was glad to accept so kind an offer for Christ's sake, correcting him by stating that he had not extended the invitation for Christ's sake but for Whitefield's. It is out of their deep regard for their common humanity that the Duke and his fellows are ready to give succor to Adam and Orlando, and not for any professed kinship with a supernatural Being; and indeed it is to their humanity that Orlando appeals. It is as if for Shakespeare in *As You Like It* the human condition contained fullness enough, as if he had surveyed it with a loving eye and found it wholly good.

Coherent in its outlook on life from beginning to end, *As You Like It* is as consistent in its tone as it is uniform in its atmosphere. With whatever technical faults exist in the manipulation of the plot, or whatever overstrainings of coincidence there are, I am not concerned here. The cast of the language in which the story is projected, however, and the aptness of it at every turn deserve at least a glance by way of consideration. The verse is no more rich or ornate than the prose. Splendor and luxuriance have given place to luminousness and warmth and earthy substantiality. The best known passages from *As You Like It* are not distinguished by either richness of sound or striking imagery. There is nothing in it like Viola's

She pin'd in thought,
And with a green and yellow melancholy
She sat, like patience on a monument,
Smiling at grief.

(II, iv, 115-118)

This is not to say that there are no images. There are, but they are of a different nature from those which highlight much of the verse in the other comedies; and furthermore the fabric in which they are embedded has been cut more nearly all from the same cloth. Extravagance and magnificence are forsworn in *As You Like It*. So, too, is imagery deriving from classical myth. The characteristic image of this play grows out of homely, warm, fruitful nature—from the friendly English countryside of spring or autumn, with its flocks and lowly human habitations. And its dimensions are small. For Rosalind, early in the play, the working-day world is full of briars, or burs, which she can shake off her coat but not off her heart; adversity, says the Duke in his first speech, has its sweet uses after all for like the toad it hides a precious jewel in its head; Orlando humbly tells Adam, who has faith in him, that he is pruning a rotten tree which cannot yield so much as a blossom; Silvius, resigned to the unrequitement of his love for Phebe, thinks

. . . it a most plenteous crop
To glean the broken ears after the man
That the main harvest reaps;

(III, v, 101-103)

Jaques sucks melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs; Touchstone tells Corin he is damn'd "like an ill roasted egg all on one side"; Celia finds Orlando under a tree like a dropped acorn; Rosalind as Ganymede tells Orlando she lives with her sister "in the skirts of the forest, like fringe upon a petticoat;" she engages to wash his "liver as clean as a sound sheep's heart, that there shall not be one spot of love in't;" Celia tells Rosalind that, considering Orlando's "verity in love," she thinks him as "concave as a covered goblet or a worm-eaten nut;" Jaques tells Touchstone that Sir Oliver Martext in marrying him and Audrey will only join them "together

as they join wainscot" so that one of them "will prove a shrunk panel and like green timber, warp;" etc., etc. Once in a while, rarely, the figure is on a scale which approaches the grand, as when Rosalind reproaches Silvius for following Phebe

Like foggy south, puffing with wind and rain.

(III, v, 50)

Through the images of *As You Like It* we get glimpses into the quiet, rustic life of 16th-century England just as through the Homeric similes of *The Iliad* we have flashbacks to the pastoral life left behind by the Achaeans warring on the fields of Troy. The difference is one of scale.

The wit in *As You Like It* is never ostentatious or extraneous, but grows directly out of the dramatic circumstances framing the incidents in which it occurs and is in keeping with the characters who voice it. There is much thoughtful laughter about life, but little playing with words and no playing with words solely for the play as in other comedies. Even when a passage of wit is prolonged beyond the bounds of what the immediate circumstances seem to justify, it can be seen to possess an organic connection with the deep, underlying theme of man and his destiny on earth, creature of curious imperfections and practices. The most conspicuous illustration of this is in Touchstone's disquisition almost at the very end of the play on the seven degrees of the lie, culminating in his pronouncement of "If" as the "only peace-maker." In his expatiating he says nothing related to what has happened before his appearance or to the action which follows at once. But what felicitous laughter about a branch of human behavior! And how in keeping with the substance and tone of the play!

Indeed it is a marvel that young as he was at the time of *As You Like It*, Shakespeare should have had an image of life in his mind so complete, so rounded, so congenial, and so harmonious. In his play of atonement he has drawn men and women with a humanity akin to that of the Mozart of *Don Giovanni*, the Wagner of *Die Meistersinger*, and the Strauss of *Don Quixote*.



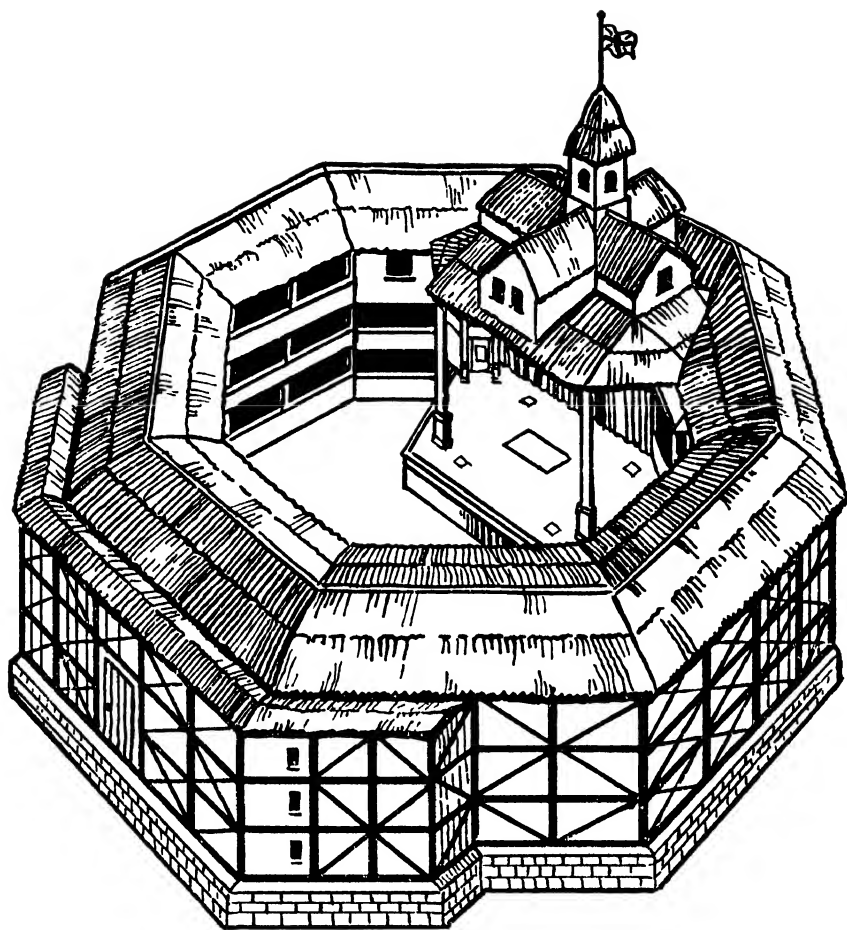
THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST GLOBE THEATRE

BY RENNIE BARKER

IN considering the structure of the Globe Playhouse, it is most important to assess correctly the relative value of the evidence concerning the construction of the building. Architectural evidence, whether structural, historical or documentary, must be given more weight than that which is obtained from rough sketches or from purely literary sources.

Conclusions based on sketches or drawings only may easily be misleading, because the artist in attempting to give a picture of a part of a city (or a group of buildings) may be more concerned with portraying a general or overall impression rather than an accurate representation of a particular building. The temptation to sketch a polygonal building round would be quite strong owing to the difficulty of drawing such a building accurately. Further, it is important to appreciate the "view-point" of the artist, for few things can be more misleading than sketches of buildings drawn in pictorial perspective. This applies particularly to height in relation to width, and, to a lesser degree, to the actual shape of the building. Again, an artist in using light and shade in order to give the necessary three-dimensional effect may give the impression of a group of *stone* buildings, whereas the historical architectural evidence may clearly show that the buildings were constructed of timber.

In addition to evidence obtained from architectural, documentary and literary sources, there is a fourth kind: the financial one. For example, to know the maximum takings of the theatre and the prices of admission may give us reliable information about the size of the building. Or if the cost of building in stone is far higher than the known cost of erecting the theatre under consideration, it would be reasonably safe to rule out a stone structure.



LINE DRAWING OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST GLOBE THEATRE
BY THE AUTHOR.

Concentration on the pictorial evidence to the exclusion of the other three sources of evidence has led Mr. J. A. Shapiro, in his article on "The Bankside Theatres" (in *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol 1), to conclude that the pre-Restoration playhouses were cylindrical in shape. The evidence supplied by the other three sources, as I hope to demonstrate, shows, however, that the first Globe Theatre was certainly, and the second probably, octagonal in shape.

The first task is to prove that the playhouse framework was constructed of timber and not of stone, and the second is to demonstrate that it was structurally and economically impracticable to build the playhouse round, had it been made of wood. If this can be done, then the pictorial evidence dealt with in so much detail by Mr. Shapiro must be discounted.

In the contract for the Fortune Theatre, built one year later than the Globe, and by workmen under the direction of the same master-builder, Peter Streete, Henslowe's and Alleyn's instructions to the contractors were to produce a replica of the Globe in every important respect, except that the new structure should be square. It is specifically stated in the contract that they find "All manner of workmen *Tymber Joystes Rafters boordes dores hinges brick Tyle lathe lyme haire sande nailes lade Iron Glasse workmanshapp* and other things whatsoever wch shalbe needefull Convenyent & necessarie for the saide fframe & woorkes &c . . . And shall alsoe make all the said fframe in every poynte for *Scantlinges* lardger and bigger in assize Then the Scantlinges of the *Timber* of the saide newe erected howse called the Globe." (Underlinings my own.)

There is no mention in any part of the contract (nor in the Hope contract) of stone or flint being used. The "brick" mentioned is to be used for the foundations, as stated earlier in the contract. The fact that the frame is to be made of timber is proved by the order for "scantlings" (the cross-section to be larger than that used in the Globe). Again, it is stated that the full sum of £440 shall be paid "Att suche tyme And when as the Tymberwoork of the saide fframe shalbe rayzed and sett upp." This method of building was, of course, the same as for all Elizabethan houses and barns. Yet again, we read in the contract that "All the princypall and maine postes of the saide fframe and Stadge forwarde shalbe square," and in the Hope contract these inner posts up to the first "storie" were to be ten inches square.

Though there are repeated references to the "frame" in the contract, there is not a single mention of any distinction between inner and outer walls. Nevertheless, it has been maintained that the exterior wall of the Globe Theatre was circular in shape and that the inner walls were octagonal. Such a construction would not only be architecturally impracticable, but would be entirely unnecessary and against the method of building in Tudor times. It would mean, of course, that the outer walls would have to be made of stone. Flint is out of the question, for the cost of transport from outside the city and high cost of "dressing" such a hard and brittle material would render the overall cost far too high.

The reason why such a structure with outer walls, presumably of stone, and the inner frame, certainly of wood, would be architecturally impracticable, is that the binding joists stretching from the inner principal posts (vertical) to the outer walls would have no end thrusts to offset the stresses pressing outwards, starting from the roof rafters. To ensure the safety of the building it would be necessary to build buttresses to take the downward and outward thrusts, especially those operating at the top of the outer wall of the tiring house, on which was the superstructure of huts with their heavy timber frames. There would have to be some very special advantages in building a cylindrical theatre for the owners to incur such trouble and the large expense involved. The engravings, moreover, show a uniform and conventional exterior, and though they often show a total disregard for accuracy when representing wall surfaces, there would surely have been some sign of the buttresses had they been used.

Evidence against the circular stone exterior walls is also forthcoming in the Fortune contract, which stipulates, as previously stated, that with the exceptions of shape of frame and of certain inner constructions, the theatre had to be a replica of the Globe. The contract declares: "All the said frame and staircases thereof to be sufficiently enclosed *without* with lath, lime and hair." This appears to be proof positive that the walls, exterior as well as interior, were not of stone construction.

If further proof is needed to show that the whole framework of the Globe was made of timber filled in with "lathe, lyme and haire," it is to be found in references to the disastrous fire of the play-

house in June, 1613, as described in several contemporary accounts. Howe, in his continuation of Stowe's *Annals*, wrote "... and in a very short time the *whole* building was quite consumed." Had the outer walls been made of stone, that part of the structure would have remained intact. Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to his nephew, wrote that the fire consumed "within less than an hour the *whole* house to the very ground . . . wherein nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks." It is the *whole* house that is burnt down, including, of course, the thatched roof (straw). The reference to "nothing did perish" is to the audience and actors—"only one man had his breeches set on fire."

Ben Jonson, in his poem, "An Execration upon Vulcan," wrote—

"The Globe, the Glory of the Banke,
I saw with two poore Chambers taken in,
And razed e're thought could urge this might have been!
See the worlds Ruines! nothing but the piles
Left! and wit since to cover it with tiles."

After the conflagration nothing is left but the piles on which the theatre was built.

Some other, negative, evidence can also be put forward. Negative evidence of the right kind may prove of real value: as, for example, an alibi to a man accused of murder! We are apt to overlook the fact that while it is architecturally easy to build circular buildings of stone, like the Greek auditoriums, the Roman amphitheatres, or the Albert Hall, it is quite another proposition when wood is the medium, especially a hard wood like oak, generally in use in Tudor times.

It has already been shown that it would have been exceedingly difficult, and certainly impracticable, to construct a three-story theatre (plus the superstructure of the huts) with an inner octagonal frame of timber and an outer cylindrical shell of stone. As for an inner circular framework, even if it were possible to make it of timber, it would call for such a large number of prick posts as would impede the view of the audience in the three galleries considerably—a summation devoutly to be *avoided*.

To make a circular theatre of timber would require the breastsummers to be bent. The Elizabethans could not bend oak beams:

neither can modern builders. The breastsummers could be cut to the shape of the radius if the scantlings were wide enough, but the labour and time involved in doing this would be tremendous, and would result in almost fabulous cost, such as no Elizabethan theatre owner would contemplate. I know of no Tudor timber-framed structure cylindrical in shape in the country. Certainly there is none in Stratford, where one would expect to see one had any existed, nor is there a single case of bent or curved oak beams in the town.

The Fortune theatre contract rules out the possibility that the Globe was square, and so we are left with the shape as octagonal. The pictorial evidence can be taken as favouring either round or octagonal, but as it has been demonstrated that the Globe theatre could not have been round, we are left with the alternative shape, octagonal.

It should be noted that an octagonal-framed theatre presents no serious architectural problems as a round one would do. The foundations would be easier and quicker to construct, the framework made of timber with ordinary joinings; one side of the frame could be used as the back of the tiring house; the erection of the galleries and staircases would be a more straightforward job, and the timber roof simple to make and assemble.

How much of the old material from the Theatre was used in the building of the Globe is not known, but the proportion would appear to have been high. The case for this is presented in *The Globe Playhouse* by John C. Adams, Chapter 2.

Careful consideration of the evidence, therefore, is, in my opinion, overwhelmingly in favour of the Globe theatre having been octagonal in shape: its frame of oak timber, and the spaces between filled in with laths, lime and hair, with possibly a layer of plaster.

Bristol, England.

A useful, compact handbook of sound information on *Shakespeare and the Players* by C. Walter Hodges with a Foreword by Professor Allardyce Nicoll has been issued by Coward-McCann, Inc. (\$2 50). With attractive illustrations of Shakespeare's London, the Theatre and the Curtain and the Globe playhouses and scenes from various plays, and with a sound, non-technical text, it serves as an admirable short introduction to the Elizabethan theatre that can be absorbed at a sitting, as readily by grammar, high school, as by college students and teachers.



JULIUS CAESAR AT THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

BY WALLACE A. BACON

EVER since the dedication, on April 23, 1932, of the magnificent structure housing the world's finest collection of Shakespeareana, visitors to the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C., have looked with something other than antiquarian eyes upon the modified Elizabethan theater which occupies the east wing of the building, picturing, in their mind's eye, the pomp and pageantry which ought, surely, to be seen now and again upon that stage. But until the week of March 28, 1949, no company of actors had ever made use of the platform, the study and the chamber, the stage doors and tiring rooms. Beginning on that date (a Monday) and continuing through Thursday evening, with matinees on Tuesday and Wednesday, the Masquers of Amherst College, Mr. Folger's Alma Mater, brought the theater to life with a production of *Julius Caesar*. (See illustrations on page 173).

It might have been more interesting to the scholar, perhaps, to have seen one of the less frequently produced plays of Shakespeare. Other plays would have permitted greater use of the unique properties of the Library's stage, for *Julius Caesar* made no use of the window stages (though it is true that sight lines for the windows are bad), nor did it find particular use for the chamber (the inner stage on the second level) except for the orations of Brutus and Antony, the proscription episode between Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius, and Pindarus' viewing of the battle in V. iii. And it must be said that the Brutus, not physically suited for the part, suffered from a restriction of emotion, except for the fine scene in IV. iii where Brutus quarrels with Cassius. But these seem minor reservations in the face of a production which proved splendidly exciting and which demonstrated beyond question the fact that the platform stage is the proper stage for Shakespeare.

The Folger Library stage is equipped, of course, with modern lighting, of which the Masquers made full use without in any way permitting the stage lights to minimize the effects of Shakespeare's own descriptive passages. Indeed, Mr. McGoun's method of lighting the storm sequences in the early part of the play, so that the entire auditorium seemed to be under an open sky filled with flashes of lightning, proved more effective than any other storm lighting I have ever observed in the theater. One could not help thinking how marvelous an effect it would create in *Lear*. Nor (to answer an objection frequently raised to the storm episode in that greatest of the tragedies) did the effect of the splitting sky and the pealing thunder diminish the size of the human actors upon the platform.

The production followed most carefully the view that scenery and locale received but brief consideration on the Globe stage. Tables, chairs, a bench, a taper—these were carried on and off with a minimum of flourish and without calling attention to the exigencies of place. The study was hung, for the tent scene, with a semicircular arras stained what seemed to be a deep brownish-purple, and apparently supported by slanting tent poles; the resulting effect was completely convincing—far beyond the effect created by the usual pathetic square of canvas propped upon a yardstick. Perhaps the single objection which might be raised against the physical production concerns the handling of the break. More than others of the plays, *Caesar* provides difficulties in the matter of dividing the action into two halves, the custom followed in most modern productions of Shakespeare. The Masquers broke it after III. 1, a break which is on several counts to be defended. But seemingly to build up that rather unemphatic position for a break, they chose to mount Caesar's throne upon a stage wagon, and to draw Antony and Octavius' servant back into the study upon it as the curtains were drawn together. The wagon seemed a false accessory.

The main thing to be said about the costumes is that they were consistently kept Elizabethan. No Roman togas appeared to appease those who expected Romans to look like Romans. Taking their cue from Casca's statement about Caesar that "he pluck'd me ope his doublet," the actors were dressed as Renaissance men, though Caesar wore a mantle of royal purple.

The text received very careful attention in the production. Act I and Act II remained uncut. Something like 100 lines were cut from

Act III, some 30 from Act IV, and something like 40 from Act V. Including a fifteen-minute interval at the break, the traffic of this stage was only slightly more than the traditional two hours.

One of the cuts disposed of a problem which vexes many students of the play. The second passage mentioning the death of Portia (Messala's announcement to Brutus) was deleted, eliminating Brutus' strange pretense that he did not know of his wife's passing, although he had described it to Cassius not 40 lines earlier. This cut is conventional, and no doubt desirable. Another cut, the longest in the play, was perhaps less successful: the deletion of Antony's servant in III. i, as he bears to Brutus the news that Antony wishes to return to hear more of the reasons behind the act of the conspirators. While it is not necessary to believe, with Granville-Barker, that this short episode constitutes the crisis of the play, it is still true that it is the beginning of the rise, and makes a far better entrance for Antony than is possible without the lines. The young actor who played the rôle was forced to make a conspicuously unemphatic approach to Brutus and Cassius at a moment when emphasis would have contributed to the effect.

The real joy for the spectators of *Julius Caesar*, however, lay not so much in the treatment of the text and the handling of physical properties (though these, of course, aided in the total measure of the play's success) as in the keen sense of contact with the stage and the actors which the platform made possible. While it is true that the Folger Library's modified theater (seating a total of 260 spectators: 202 on the main floor and 58 in the single upper gallery)¹ is far smaller than the Globe as described by John C. Adams (a total of 2048 spectators: 600 in the yard and the remainder in the galleries, gentlemen's rooms, and on the stage), it is probably likewise true that the theater-in-little at the Library comes closer than does the modern proscenium stage to the effect of direct contact which must have been present in the Elizabethan playhouse. Indeed, the Amherst Masquers found a distinct difference between playing *Caesar* upon a replica of the Folger theater built by their designer, Mr. Rogers, upon their own college stage behind a proscenium (though with a platform extended into the house) and playing upon the platform not framed by a proscenium opening. Suddenly the actors seemed larger, their movements more subject to close scrutiny from three

sides, their voices stronger. If Mr. Adams is right, the Globe stage extended halfway into the yard, so that even if it be pared down from the effect in the Folger theater, the sense of nearness to the action must have been far keener in the Globe than in contemporary play-houses.

For once the armies crossing the stage to the sound of drums and the flourishes of trumpets seemed wholly credible as armies. The width of the platform (45 feet at the greatest expanse), the depth of the stage from front rail to the rear of the study (30 feet, the depth of the study being 10 feet), and the breadth of the stage doors (varying from 3 to perhaps 5 feet) permitted the audience to hear the tramp of feet beginning in the tiring house, and gradually echoing louder upon the platform as the troops appeared with their banners. Groupings were managed excellently by the director of the Masquers, Mr. Curtis Canfield, who, indeed, must be given much of the credit for the results.

Asides delivered at the front rail brought the actors directly down to the audience. Using the pillars as sight masks and aided by the width of the house, the actors could seem credibly to whisper unheard by their fellow actors half the stage away from them. Antony, speaking from the chamber above the study, and leaning down over the rail to cry out to the citizens assembled below around Caesar's black coffin, seemed prompting the audience itself to action, for both citizens and audience looked upward into the chamber as he spoke. And how much meaning those conventional Shakespearean phrases took on in their proper setting: "Who comes here?" "Come down." "Good friends, go in." "Portia, go in a while." While the outdoor scenes lost nothing of their strength from being performed before the fixed setting, the interior scenes gained strangely from the solidity of the doors and walls. The point would seem to be that Shakespeare supplied in his verse what the stage lacked in the way of exterior setting, but relied somewhat less rhetorically upon the fixed scene for his interiors. At least it seemed so with *Caesar*. And delivered from what seemed more a rostrum than a theater stage, the rhetoric sounded less a flourish and more an outburst of passion than one imagines it to be when viewing the ubiquitous Mr. Evans. In spite of the recent acclamations of Hollywood and other accrediting agencies, it may even be said that an amateur *Caesar* under such

conditions is far more satisfying than such an unShakespearean performance as the *Hamlet* of Sir Laurence Olivier, though his *Henry V* was quite another matter.

The young actors on the whole did their work with remarkable finish. Cassius was particularly fine; Antony, though less polished (indeed, less experienced) as an actor, proved to be very effective; in spite of the shortcoming already remarked upon, Brutus possessed a certain finish and grace of movement which in part atoned for the fact that he was not often a truly reflective Roman. The minor characters were genuinely good; so small a part as Artemidorus, for example, remains vivid in memory. It may be observed in passing that the Cinna the poet episode seemed to draw upon Orson Welles' handling of the episode in the Mercury Theater *Caesar* of a number of seasons ago, and did not thereby gain in effect, for surely there is a particular Shakespearean humor in the scene which ought not so nearly to be sacrificed.

All in all, the Amherst Masquers are to be commended for their production, and the officials responsible for at last making use of the Folger Library's Elizabethan theater must always deserve the gratitude of those who were fortunate enough to see the performance of *Julius Caesar*. How much such a staging is to be preferred to the (by comparison) one-dimensional effect of the proscenium stage was made decisively apparent to those who, the following Sunday, watched the same play (and the same stage, though with the action somewhat altered) on television, where almost all the directness of speech and movement seemed to have vanished into thin air. While it is true that the best of Shakespeare was not of an age, but is for all time, it is equally true that even the best of Shakespeare is likely to gain by being viewed against the scene for which and out of which it was written. This is by long consent the scholar's view. How surprising it was to some non-scholars (and even belligerent non-scholars) to discover that they agreed.

Northwestern University

¹The structure actually includes a spectators' gallery on the third level; but since the stage has only two levels and the roof of the heavens cuts off the view from the third-level gallery, that gallery is never used for spectators



QUARTERLY REVIEWS

TITUS ANDRONICUS

By THOMAS MARC PARROTT

TITUS ANDRONICUS is the latest volume in the New Cambridge Shakespeare now being edited by the ingenious and always stimulating English scholar, J. Dover Wilson. It is a welcome addition to the series for it presents for the first time an authentic text of the play based upon Q 1, with the addition, naturally, of a scene, 3.2, which appears only in the Folio. This reproduction of the original text has been possible only since the appearance in 1936 of the facsimile of the unique copy of Q 1, 1594, one of the special treasures of the Folger Shakespeare Library. In addition to the text, this volume includes an Introduction of lxxi pages which contains among other things an interesting stage history of this rarely acted play. There is also a study of the 'copy' for the variant texts, a note on the frontispiece, the sole contemporary illustration to a Shakespeare play, copious notes, and a glossary.

The main interest of this early and, it must be owned repulsive, play is bound up with the question of Shakespeare's authorship. As early as 1598 Francis Meres included it in his well-known list of Shakespeare's plays, and Shakespeare's fellows embodied it in their collected edition of his dramas, the First Folio. This would appear to be irrefutable testimony as to Shakespeare's authorship, yet the inevitable recoil of lovers of Shakespeare from the grisly horrors of this play has led many critics to reject it from the canon and to find or invent reasons for discrediting Meres and the editors of the Folio. That, in the main, has been the attitude of English scholars such as Robertson and Greg. As late as 1929, after all that had been written on the question, an English critic, John Bailey, calmly declared: "Of *Titus Andronicus* I need say nothing as scarcely anyone thinks Shake-

speare wrote it." The Germans, on the other hand, less easily shocked, perhaps, and familiar with the early extravagances of their own great dramatists, were inclined to accept it as Shakespeare's youthful experiment in popular Senecan tragedy. A third school, represented in this century mainly by Americans, has found a *via media* by dwelling on Shakespeare as the revisor of an old play, a revisor whose work was so thorough as to justify Meres and Heminges and Condell in ascribing the play as it stands to him. It is to this school that Dover Wilson belongs, and one of the merits of this edition is his frank acknowledgment of American scholarship, a happy contrast to the somewhat supercilious attitude of certain of his fellow countrymen.

It is the opinion of your reviewer that Professor Wilson proves, so far as proof is possible in these matters, the case for the revisionists. He does this by a scene by scene analysis, racing through the play like a hound after a fox, questing for the trail of Shakespeare in parallel passages, in characteristic mannerisms, and in flashes of dramatic characterization. The quest yields no trace of the quarry in the long scene which fills the first act. On the contrary that scene is heavy, one might almost say rank, with the scent of George Peele, his monotony, his dramatic flatness, his clichés and repetitions, and with parallels to his known work, especially to his *Honour of the Garter*, 1593, a date to be remembered for Wilson makes play with it hereafter.

After the first act, however, the case is altered. The trail of Shakespeare runs plain from the first scene of act two to the very end of the play. Yet in these four acts there are few scenes that seem to Wilson straight Shakespeare; again and again he labels a scene: "Peele rewritten by Shakespeare." *Titus Andronicus*, then, according to Wilson is the joint work of Peele and Shakespeare. How did this collaboration between an old stage hack and a young poet, author at best of a play or two—Shakespearian chronology before 1594 is most uncertain—come about? Wilson answers this question in the fourth section of his Introduction: "How it all happened."

It is beyond the scope of this review to follow in detail Wilson's elaborate and, at times somewhat involved argument, but a summary noting its main points may clarify his position. Peele, he thinks, wrote a short play on the story of Titus for performance in the provinces in 1593 when the London theaters were closed by the plague. He sold this play to Strange's Company, who turned over a transcript of their prompt-book to Pembroke's Men, an offshoot, apparently, of

Strange's. By September, 1593, however, Pembroke's Company was back in London, bankrupt, "fain" in Henslowe's words "to pawn their 'parel," i.e. their costumes. By December a drop in the number of deaths from the plague made a reopening of London theaters possible, and a minor company, Sussex's Men, acquired the acting rights of *Titus* for a season they were planning at Henslowe's theater, the Rose, opening December 26. For a London performance, however, a full length five act play was required and Peele was called on to expand his original work; traces of his additions are plainly visible in the Alarbus and Mutius episodes¹ of the first act. Haste, however, was imperative if the new version was to be rehearsed and promptly staged, and so Shakespeare, author of the best seller of Elizabethan poems, *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, was called on to assist Peele. Wilson is not as clear as one would wish as to the nature of this collaboration, but he suggests (p. 1) that when "Shakespeare had Peele's additions before him he could not keep his fingers off them." Be that as it may, the revised play—Henslowe marks it "ne," i.e. new or revised—was staged with great success at the Rose on January 23, 1594. It was twice repeated,² the last performance coming in February 6, when a fresh outbreak of the plague again closed the London theaters. The closure must have been foreseen, for on that very day *Titus Andronicus* was entered by Danter in the Stationers' Register and published later in the year. Wilson guesses that the Sussex Company, bankrupt like Pembroke's before them, paid the collaborating playwrights by returning to them the "foul papers," i.e. the original manuscript, and the official prompt-book.³ Peele, he thinks, sold the manuscript to Danter while Shakespeare retained the prompt-book for later performances by his fellow actors who staged it during their brief season at Newington Butts in June, 1594.

These dates, December 26 and January 23, are highly significant in their bearing on Shakespeare's participation in *Titus Andronicus*. It is known that he did not go on tour with Strange's Company in the summer of 1593, but stayed in or near London at work on the "graver labour" which his dedication of *Venus and Adonis* had promised Southampton. This "labour" was his long narrative poem, *Lucrece*, and he was presumably still engaged on it in December, since it was not ready for publication until the spring of 1594 when on May 9 it was entered in the Stationers' Register. Now *Titus Andronicus* is packed with parallels to *Lucrece*, some of them merely verbal, but others of such a nature as to proclaim a common author-

ship. Other parallels in the play to Shakespeare's early work might be attributed to plagiarism by some other poet who wrote or revised *Titus*, but only Shakespeare could have lifted words, lines, and similes from his unpublished *Lucrece* and embodied them in the play. The case for Shakespeare's hand in the scenes where the *Lucrece* parallels occur seems to be demonstrated* and once we admit his presence there, we are justified in finding it in other scenes where parallels and striking likenesses to his known work appear.

Why not then, it may be asked, frankly ascribe with a later American scholar^o the whole play to Shakespeare? The answer is given in the frequent parallels to the work of Peele which occur throughout the play and in the sudden shifts within a single scene from the hack work of an old playwright to the poetic dramatic style of Shakespeare. Perhaps the best example of such a shift is in act two, scene three, where it is as impossible to imagine Shakespeare writing the first ninety to one hundred lines as it is to conceive Peele writing those in which Lavinia pleads for the chastity dearer to her than life.

There is however, one striking Peele parallel whose significance Wilson does not seem fully to appreciate. This is the curious word, "palliamment," which occurs, according to the Oxford English Dictionary only in *Titus* and in Peele's *Honour of the Garter*. The word was apparently coined by Peele, *primus verborum artifex*, as Nashe called him, from the Latin *pallium*. It is used correctly in the play to denote the white gown of a Roman candidate for office; in the poem, on the other hand, it has no real relevance to the robe worn by the royal founder of the Order of the Garter. Wilson admits that the line in *Titus* (1.1.182) must have been written before that in the poem where it is simply thrust in to exhibit Peele's classical scholarship. Now the *Honour of the Garter* can be very exactly dated in June 1593, and if the line in *Titus* precedes the poem, Peele's work on the play is thrown back to an uncertain date before that time. What becomes then of Wilson's notion of the "genesis" of the play in Peele's hands in the summer of 1593 at the very time he was writing the Garter poem? It would appear more likely that this "genesis" must be set at an earlier date, perhaps even earlier than the patent allusion to *Titus* in *A Knack to Know a Knave*, 1592. Possibly the best answer to this puzzle is to assume a Peele *Titus* play before 1593 and to accept the various parallels between our play and the poem as lifted by Peele from the play and embodied in a poem written in haste to be dedicated to his patron, the Earl of Northumber-

land, created a Knight of the Garter on June 26, 1593. In that case one might limit Peele's revision of his old play to the episodes already mentioned in Act I, imagine him incapable of finishing his job in the brief time allowed—Peele was notoriously unreliable—and assume a summons to Shakespeare to complete the work. Then, of course, Peele's manuscript must have been turned over to Shakespeare to deal with as he pleased and consequently Shakespeare alone is responsible for the text as it stands.

The last section of the Introduction deals mainly with Shakespeare's attitude toward this bloody melodrama. Catching a hint from Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare*, 1939, Wilson proceeds to point out passage after passage in scenes ascribed to Shakespeare of such "bleating pathos" and "tawdry rant" as could only have been written by the poet "with his tongue in his cheek." Sometimes Shakespeare seems to be parodying the turgid rhetoric of earlier playwrights: sometimes he even gives his own work in *Lucrece* a satiric comic twist as when he compares the mutilated form of Lavinia to a public conduit pouring out blood from three spouts. And it is not only in the diction that this mockery appears; some of the stage business is in fact simply ludicrous as when Lavinia picks up the severed hand of Titus with her teeth and trots off the stage after him "for all the world like a little puppy dog." What, Wilson asks, can have induced Shakespeare to perpetrate such nonsense? The answer he finds in the impoverished condition of the profession at the end of the plague year, 1593. *Titus* had been a successful play in the provinces; a fresh version heightening its extravagance would be a drawing card in London, and with the opening of the Rose in December 1593 there was a chance of profit not only for the actors but also, no doubt, for the poet who provided them with a new vehicle. There can be little doubt, although Wilson does not say so, that in December 1593, Shakespeare himself was in rather low water. He had stopped for a time performing as an actor: the money he had received for the manuscript of *Venus and Adonis* must long since have been spent, and his *Lucrece* was still unfinished. If Alleyn, Henslowe's son-in-law, who had been touring with Shakespeare's fellows in the summer, came to him with an offer of ready cash to finish the job Peele had left undone, Shakespeare probably jumped at the chance; he was always a practical man.

Whatever we may think of it *Titus Andronicus* was, Jonson tells us, the dear delight of the Elizabethan public. Shakespeare's

Company thought so well of it that they retained it in their repertoire even after they became the King's Majesty's Servants. In fact some time after 1594 they induced Shakespeare to write a new scene (3.2) which for wild rant and false sentiment yields to no other in the play. Perhaps the epithet "bravado," which Walter Raleigh applies to Shakespeare's spirit in this play, fits the case more precisely than Wilson's note of "burlesque." Shakespeare, a true Elizabethan, was less squeamish than modern critics; he may actually have enjoyed the general massacre with which the play ends; certainly he indulged himself in something very like it in the last scene of *Hamlet*. This was what the groundlings wanted, he knew; well, they should have it in full measure, pressed down and running over, and the horrors of the action would be heightened to the spectators by the lacrymose laments which he could so easily compose. We need not labor this point; after all there is but a narrow margin between bravado and burlesque.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Wilson, who repeatedly refers to the lost play, *Titus and Vespasian*, did not take the trouble to lay the ghost of that play which, since Cohn's publication, 1865, of a German version of *Titus Andronicus*, has haunted all discussions of Shakespeare's play as a possible source. The one link between the lost play and *Titus* is that in the German version Lucius, the son of Titus, is called Vespasian. But with the sole exception of the protagonist, Titus, *all* the characters in the German bear other names than those in Shakespeare's play. Wilson is mistaken when he says, p. xli, n., that the name of Saturninus survives in the German text; it does not; that character is known only by his title, the Emperor, as Aaron is by his race, Morian, the Moor. Lavinia becomes Andronica; Bassianus is her husband, *Andronicæ Gemahl*, and Marcus is Victor-iades. It seems clear that the English actors who took the play to Germany had forgotten the original names of all except the hero, or else preferred to change them, and since a name was needed for Lucius, who, by the way, plays a more important role in the German than in the English version, they simply baptized him with a name that in history as well as in drama was linked with that of Titus, i.e. Vespasian. That the historical Vespasian was the father, not the son of Titus, would not trouble the actors in the least. After all, however, when Wilson has done so much so well, it is hardly fair to blame him for having left a minor matter undone. His work as a

whole can be commended as by far the best existing edition of this much debated play.

Princeton University

¹These episodes, by the way, are wanting, though Wilson does not say so, in the German version of the play reprinted in A. Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany*, which may quite well be an adaptation by English actors of the unrevised play for performance on the Continent

²It was the only new play for this season at the Rose and after the first rush of the opening performances brought in better returns than any other play, surpassing even that old favorite, *The Jew of Malta*

³This mode of payment seems unlikely, Elizabethan playwrights, if we may judge from Henslowe's records, were usually paid in advance, and Sussex's Company was hardly bankrupt for it joined the Queen's Men for a brief season in April 1594

⁴This insistence on the decisive value of the *Lucrece* parallel is not new with Wilson, it had been advanced by Austin Gray (*Studies in Philology*, 1928) but Wilson has rescued it from the neglected pages of an academic journal and advanced it with fuller illustration and greater authority

⁵Hereward Price in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, January, 1943

MR. HEILMAN ON KING LEAR

By R. W. BABCOCK

I

Heilman, Robert B., *This Great Stage: Image and Structure in 'King Lear'*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948, pp xi + 339, \$3.50.

The method involved in Mr. Heilman's book is perhaps best expressed in his own words at the beginning:

The methods upon which the present essay fundamentally relies will not seem strange to anyone who has some acquaintance with the techniques of poetic analysis that have come into general use during the last two decades. Recent criticism has been primarily concerned with matters of tone and with the function of central poetic devices—of irony, for instance, and the suggestive value of images and metaphor, and symbol. . . (p. 4)

These methods, hitherto applied by the so-called "New Critics" to lyric verse, will now be applied to drama, where the "structural problem has special complexities that require extensions and ampli-

fications of the method" (pp. 4-5). "The language of Shakespeare's plays has always been a stimulus to critics" (p. 5), for it always arouses a "'swarm of feelings'" (p. 6), and "Part of the subject of the present essay is the genesis of such feelings in the reader of *King Lear*." "For the student of *Lear* soon discovers that certain key words continue to be repeated more or less regularly throughout the play" (p. 6)—"families of terms . . . clustered about some root-ideas—an idea such as sight or disease or age or sex" (p. 7).

He admits that Miss Caroline Spurgeon instigated this sort of study of Shakespeare but complains that she relegated "the discernible language patterns of the plays" to merely a "supplementary role;" in other words she missed "the organic nature of the imagistic systems" (p. 7). But in *Lear* "the imagery groups are not merely theme supporters but theme carriers. When images become symbols, they become integrated into the total structure" (p. 8). We get beyond the "literal meaning" of a word, and "Repetition itself is a mode of meaning" (p. 9)—for example, the lines about nature in *Lear* "form a community" (p. 11). Thus "a series of dramatic statements about one subject does constitute a bloc of meaning which is a structural part of the play." (p. 11).

He cites Cleanth Brooks as his master in this attempt to achieve Shakespeare's "larger meanings" (p. 13), and he adds that "the special patterns of meaning in *King Lear* are so complex that it may be judicious . . . to trace the occurrences of one family of images—images which occur relatively infrequently and yet tend to take on a symbolic significance which can be related to a central theme of the play" (p. 14).

The sight pattern he treats first generally, by reference to classical drama—"sight is insight," symbolically—and then moves to the various patterns of *Lear*. "I am using the word pattern," he announces, "to denote a combination or system of poetic and dramatic elements which can be shown to work together in encompassing a body of meaning that has a place in the over-all structure of the play (p. 24). The four main "dramatic facts" of the play are "the blindness of Gloucester," "the violence of the storm," "the nakedness of Edgar" and "the coming together of different kinds of real or apparent mental disorders" (p. 24); all of these "are very active on the symbolic level" (p. 24), and they "react upon each other"; "they are prepared

for, and they are followed up," and they are partly dependent upon "organic bodies of language" (p. 25).

He then explains the symbolism of each of these four, and points out their interrelationship. "I believe," he remarks, "that *King Lear* is finally a play about the ways of looking at and assessing the world of human experience." "Thus we have moved into the realm of metaphysics, a realm in which the play is speculatively very active." "The examination of the patterns should lead to some statement of the theme," which "must include also an account of the *tone* which is at the heart of the author's interpretation of his materials" (p. 29).

"In tragedy," he continues, "the outer clash is symbolic of the movement of universal issues and is at the same time an objectification of the war within the protagonist" (p. 31). "Tragedy . . . presents man as understanding his deviation, undergoing a spiritual rehabilitation, recovering the insights by which he may endure" (pp. 31-32). "This is the kind of tragic structure exhibited in *King Lear*" (p. 32). It is "clear even at the plot level" (p. 33). "But . . . what is the meaning of the actions of Lear and Gloucester?" (p. 33). "The fact is that [their] mistakes do illustrate certain qualities of mind which we must seek out; and for the definition of these qualities we must rely upon the patterns of imagery" (p. 33).

The succeeding chapters then discuss, in natural sequence, the various patterns: II Sight, III Clothes, IV and V Nature, VI "The Age and Justice Themes," VII Values, VIII and IX Madness, X Religion, and XI Conclusion.

Always the emphasis is on the symbolism¹ of each pattern: "Thus the symbolism becomes explicit: Gloucester here (in IV, i, 19) summarizes his whole career": "'I stumbled when I saw'" (p. 44). And generally out of this symbolism comes a paradox² (as is obvious in the last quotation): "It is one of a series of paradoxes which, developed by the patterns, are the main structural determinants of *King Lear*" (p. 50-51). "Each pattern"³ also "points to the problem of values" (p. 53 and see Chap. VII). The supporting imagery itself is always given with detailed precision⁴—cf., the animal and sex imagery on pp. 93ff.; "Shakespeare uses the animal imagery to describe the condition of man as well as the character of man" (p. 105). Sometimes it may all get a bit complex: "So *nature* has different meanings in the usage of different moral agents" (p. 115), but nature generally in the play "is a principle of order" (p. 127); "In

fact, the age pattern is almost an exact logical extension of the nature pattern; the two views of age virtually coincide with the two interpretations of Nature" (p. 143).

On p. 153 Mr. Heilman carefully sums up his book so far. But Chapter VIII is the longest and the basic chapter of the book. Here he adds the madness pattern to the others and proceeds to recapitulate them all (especially on pp. 178 ff.). Obviously they belong all together, for they are in action all together, and so perhaps this eighth chapter should have come first as groundwork. As "the center of the pattern" (p. 197) he chooses the spot in IV, 6, where Lear enters, "crowned with weeds," and "speaks about one hundred lines—his most important in the play". These speeches "are a *nexus of all the main lines of development in the play*" (p. 198—his italics). "Here we find, united in a single impact, the sight, smell, clothes, sex, animal, and justice themes that move throughout the play. And they are organized by means of the madness theme." In Lear's madness, therefore, "there is unity" (p. 199).

The remaining three chapters are not so important, so far as the exposition is concerned. By the end of the book Mr. Heilman has convinced himself that *Lear* is more Christian than pagan. In the final chapter, pp. 282-284 more or less sum up the whole book.

II

Prof. R. S. Crane has shown the philosophical bankruptcy of the Cleanth Brooks type of criticism.⁵ Prof. E. E. Stoll has pointed out the historical blind spots in such criticism.⁶ I should like to approach this book primarily from a purely dramatic point of view.

Here is a book written about a Shakespearean play, written in its turn for an *audience*—and a special type of audience, at that, historically—and yet Mr. Heilman never once mentions the word audience⁷ anywhere in his book! He substitutes the words *reader*⁸ and *student*⁹ persistently: Nor does he use the word *actor*¹⁰ in the book, and only occasionally the word *character*¹¹ in its normal sense in a play. He prefers words like *metaphysics* or *metaphysical*, *dichotomy*, *philosophic*.¹² Now and then he refers to *conflict*,¹³ the basis of all dramatic tension, but never to *foreknowledge*, the fundamental structural device of all good drama. He prefers words like *paradox*,

*symbolism, patterns*¹⁴ (see his own index for the long list of references to each of these). In short, this is not regular dramatic criticism of a Shakespearean play, intended for the enjoyment of an early 17th century audience—or *any* audience for that matter. It is *closet* criticism, written by a super-aesthetic scholar for his friends in the "New" super-aesthetic group.¹⁵

Some of the symbolic interpretations may disturb even the closet-reader of the book: with regard to the Fool's riddle about one's nose, "... it is never good policy to dismiss a joke merely as a joke" (p. 14). Why not? What were the groundlings there for? "Lear has his crown of thorns—a symbol of the anguish which is the heart of the redemptive experience" (p. 78). This is out-knighting Mr. Knight himself! On the Dover Cliff scene (p. 260): "The episode is very strongly reminiscent of the temptation of Christ (just as Lear, who enters ten lines later with his crown of nettles and weeds, is reminiscent of Christ in another way)." Karl Young used to teach this play *wholly* as a *pagan* play; I wish he were alive now to read that remark, and the whole of Mr. Heilman's Chapters X and XI on the sublime Christianity of *Lear*. It is true that most of these rather forced symbolic excursions¹⁶ appear in the notes, at the back of the book (see especially pp. 306, 307, 308, 321 and 323), and even Mr. Heilman himself is a bit worried here: "It may be pushing the evidence too far to suggest that . . ." (p. 307). If all this is a little startling to the average closet-reader, what would it have been to the Elizabethan audience?

Mr. Heilman thinks neither Caroline Spurgeon nor Cleanth Brooks went far enough along the primrose path to everlasting mysticism, and he is going to outstrip them.¹⁷ He does. But he never outstrips Mr. Brooks and most other romantics (I would not include Miss Spurgeon here) in his confidence in his own ideas. Mr. Brooks' famous "must" passage about the symbols in *Macbeth*—"which", as Mr. Heilman himself quotes (p. 13), "'we must understand if we are to understand either the detailed passage or the play as a whole'" —finds its echoes in Mr. Heilman's similar *must* passages throughout his book.¹⁸ The present reviewer long ago pointed out this tendency to self-confidence among romantic critics in an article on G. Wilson Knight in the *Sewanee Review* in July, 1934. Practically everything said there about Mr. Knight applies equally well to Mr. Heilman—

symbolism, self-satisfaction and all. For the White Knight rides again (with thanks to my good friend, W. S. Knickerbocker)!

Mr. Heilman, then, is not interested in simple drama, in dramatic structure or characterization or in the Elizabethan frame of reference. Shakespeare's exposition, and his preparation for Lear's madness or Cornwall's temper-fits, do not impress him. He never notices Gloucester's trick of repetition in discourse, though he actually quotes it once (p. 137); and he merely counts Cordelia's lines in order to show her lack of importance in the play;¹⁹ yet Cordelia *is* an extremely powerful character in Act IV, Scenes 4 and 7. One hundred lines would not let Mr. Heilman find in Cordelia's speeches all the significant "patterns" which Lear produced in one hundred lines of madness! Hence the problem of the creation of character as such does not attract Mr. Heilman. (Yet he has written a book on *Understanding Drama*.) He himself admits that perhaps these methods of his friends, the 'New' Critics, may not actually apply to drama: What does he mean then by his term, "dramatic facts?"²⁰ "It is hardly necessary to remark," he declares, "that the distinction between poem and drama raises more difficulties than it settles" (p. 298). *Has* he ever faced these difficulties?

There is very little basic historical criticism in the book.²¹ Historical critics themselves he uses only when they support his own ideas: Granville-Barker, for instance and once he attacks Mr. Stoll for the latter's reflections on Mr. Brooks. With regard to other critics—and Mr. Heilman knows a lot of them, mostly romantic with others derived from Furness (see his index)—there is no need for any 'new' critic to tell us about the intellect of Shakespeare's villains (pp. 220 and 238), as Mr. Heilman cites Brooks and Warren (p. 328) to support himself: Kittredge was teaching this idea fifty years ago.

Curiously enough he sneers at the 18th century,²² but his mental acrobatics in Chapter I are reminiscent of W. Richardson's psychological gyrations on *suspicion* in 1774,²³ and his whole imagery-association idea was practically anticipated by Walter Whiter in 1794:²⁴

I define therefore the power of this *association* over the genius of the poet, to consist in supplying him with words and with ideas, which have been suggested to the mind by a principle of union unperceived by himself, and independent of the subject, to which they are applied.

Must we then forget Whiter and all historical critics and simple dramatic criticism and let these 'new' critics march on the stage—in place of the actors—each with a symbol pinned to his back—to present the play?

I shall not delve into textual criticism in the book. Mr. Heilman accepts my colleague, Leo Kirschbaum's accent on the folio text²⁶ and presumably reproduces it throughout the book; I have made no check of this. I do think that perhaps individual words should be reviewed in the light of their *Elizabethan* meaning²⁶; e.g. *darker* (p. 306) means *more secret*, not necessarily absence of light or even anticipation of the future; and what about *cowish* (p. 315), and *shield* (p. 311)? It is interesting again to see the great predilection for sex²⁷ present in all these "new Critics."

Finally the iteration of the patterns, values, symbols, paradoxes, etc., etc., somewhat palls on the reader after a hundred pages. As indicated above, Chapters I and VIII are the most important, so that the whole book could probably have been cut in half, with the concentration placed on those two chapters. There are a few obvious remarks²⁸ and one or two downright errors,²⁹ but the most amusing statement rises naturally from all this "19th century" idealism of the practical dramatist Shakespeare: for the 19th century insisted that he anticipated Harvey on the circulation of the blood; Mr. Heilman, true product of his romantic forbears, declares: ". . . in thus presenting madness at two levels, Shakespeare does the very thing sometimes regarded as experimental in modern fiction" (p. 208).

Yet of course all this vigorous idealization of Shakespeare is stimulating and suggestive. The problem is to keep it within the practical bounds of the theatre (and the Elizabethan period, to some extent). Mr. Heilman's style itself throughout the whole book is vital and seductive. His knowledge of various critics of Shakespeare, new and old—but mostly romantic—is nothing short of astonishing and he produces evidence from the play for each of his "patterns" with great profusion.³⁰ His best contribution, though, lies in his keen characterizations, especially of Gloucester,³¹ Edgar³² Lear,³³ Goneril and Regan,³⁴ when he drops his symbolic mask and analyses directly. The whole of Chapter IX is an example of what Mr. Heilman could do in straightforward characterization if he would only dispose of the old-man-of-the-sea, Symbolism, hanging around his neck. In fact, it is sad to see him make a complete about-face at the end of this fine

chapter and cover the last two pages with his master's clichés: paradoxes, symbols, etc., etc.

III

The question is now what to do with this sort of modern criticism of Shakespeare. It certainly deserves a place in the firmament even though it deliberately evades the theatrical aspects and so overlooks some of the basic problems of the play.³⁵ Historical critics themselves err just as badly as aesthetic critics in throwing the whole accent on their pet type of criticism. To rescue aesthetic criticism from such symbolic depths as the present book displays, this reviewer suggests a thorough study of speech rhythms in Shakespearean drama, to determine why, for instance, the character of Cordelia is so powerful in the few lines she has in *Lear*. This idea has already been started on its way by Mr. Stoll³⁶ and Mr. Draper.³⁷ The problem is to develop a *method* of analysis, and this I do not think either Mr. Stoll or Mr. Draper has accomplished yet.

Wayne University

Mr. Heilman's book has a rather inadequate index—hence the careful paging

¹Compare pp. 78, 100, 108, 117-18, 170-71, etc. and see his index for the term.

²Compare especially pp. 151 and 171 and see his index for the term.

³See his index for a long list of references to this idea.

⁴See pages 141, 194, 226, for example.

⁵R. S. Crane, "Cleanth Brooks; or the Bankruptcy of Critical Monism," in *MP*, XLV (1948), 226-45.

⁶In *ELH*, March, 1946 and *MLR*, January, 1947. See also the recent article by Prof. O. J. Campbell, in the *J. Q. Adams Memorial Volume* (Washington, 1948) pp. 81-95. Mr. Campbell's last footnote defers to Mr. Stoll.

⁷The nearest he comes to it is *auditor*, on p. 5, and this is not his word; he is quoting somebody else. On p. 308 he refers to "the educated," which may mean the intellectual element of the audience—but more probably the study.

⁸See pp. 5, 6, 13, 199-200, 213, etc.

⁹See pp. 6, 173.

¹⁰On p. 278 he remarks, "The players on this great stage are fools," but that is merely a reference to a metaphorical implication of his own title taken from *Lear*, IV, 6, 161-62 (Rolfé text):

"When we are born, we cry that we are come

To this great stage of fools . . ."

¹¹See Chapter II and IX, by development only, also pp. 31, 304, 336.

¹²*Metaphysics* or *metaphysical*—pp. 28, 67, 177, 284; *dichotomy*—p. 28, *philosophic*—p. 108, 197.

¹⁸See p. 28 and Chapter XI.

¹⁹See notes 1, 2 and 3 above.

²⁰See his index for these critics as a whole Blackmur, Brooks, Empson, Kirschbaum(), Ransom, T Spencer, Stewart, Warren

²¹See also pp 47, 61, 82, 85, 101, 102 (and note), 124, 159, 169-70, 200-01, 228, 237, 282. These are merely a few outstanding samples.

²²See pp 7 and 297 for his specific admissions See his index for further references to both In general he defends Knight, but on pp. 317 and 320 he definitely points out shortcomings in his 'master'.

²³For his own *must* passages see pp 53, 135, 166, 169, etc

²⁴Pp 301 and 311 Even G L Bickersteth in his *The Golden World of King Lear* (British Academy Lecture, 1946), p 11, objects to this sort of measurement of Cordelia's lines

²⁵On pp. 24, 25, 26

²⁶On pp 134 and 304 source study is suggested and on p 300 he discusses Miss Campbell's ideas

²⁷P 5 "Even in the eighteenth century "

²⁸See *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry*, (Chapel Hill, 1931), p 173

²⁹See *The Genesis*, p 180 and W Whiter, *A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakespeare*, (London Cadell), 1794, p 68

³⁰P 303

³¹Would it be too presumptuous to ask him to consider Elizabethan psychology itself in discussing the words in the play? Cf Louise C T Forest's admission about "the concrete psychological basis of much of its imagery"—in "A Caveat for Critics," *PMLA*, LXI (1946) p 670

³²See pp 98ff, 313, 314, 326, etc

³³Pp 256 and 257. on the former, the last sentence about France, and then the next sentence that runs over on p. 257.

³⁴On p 323 he writes "As far as I know, no modern critic shares the passion of certain nineteenth-century critics for clinical analysis of Shakespearean characters." But see reprint of Ernest Jones' "Psychoanalytical Study" of *Hamlet* (Vision Press Series, New York Funk and Wagnalls, 1948)

On p. 331 he calls S L Bethell's *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* (London, 1944) an "excellent study," but see the *TLS* review of July 8, 1944, p. 333.

³⁵See note 4 above

³⁶Pp 49, 125, and Chapter VIII

³⁷P 51

³⁸Pp 53, 56, and Chapter VIII, etc

³⁹Goneril and Regan—p 58 and Chapter IX

⁴⁰That is, politics, staging, acting tradition, biographical criticism, sceptical criticism, Elizabethan psychology, comparative study, dramatic structure, sources, etc. Perhaps Edith Sitwell's new book, *A Notebook on William Shakespeare* (Macmillan, 1948) will throw more light on these problems of the play The *TLS* for October 16, 1948, announces that "she has discovered fresh sources of the inspiration behind *King Lear*, throwing a new light on the whole play" (p. 580).

⁴¹See *MLR*, XXIII (1928), pp 145-63, *Poets and Playwrights* (1930), Chapter I and pp 128-29, *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), pp 701-02, 712-13, *Art and Artifice* (1933), pp 45, 104-5, *Shakespeare's Young Lovers* (1937), pp 27, 29, *Shakespeare and Other Masters* (1940), pp 132, 152, 164-65, 176, 204, 249, 251, 351, *PQ*, XXIV (October, 1945), pp 295, 308.

⁴²Among many articles, see *Neophilologus*, (October, 1946); *Anglia*, (August, 1946); *English Studies*, (June, 1947); etc See also J W Draper "Patterns of Humor and Tempo in *King Lear*," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXI (1947) pp 390-401

YODER ON ANIMAL IMAGERY

BY JOHN HANNIGAN

MISS AUDREY YODER'S book, *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal* (King's Crown Press, New York, 1947) is divided in three parts. First, a dissertation on Shakespeare's allusions and semi-allusions to Aesop's Fables; second, a presentation of his non-Aesopic animal comparisons, and finally, a series of Notes, Appendices and a long Bibliography.

The author worked at Illinois under the distinguished Dr. T. W. Baldwin while he was engaged in writing his *Smalle Latine and Lesse Greek* (1944). Miss Yoder assisted him in his research on Aesop, and has, since her work with him, continued her investigations along the same line. While Dr. Baldwin's effort was merely to identify Shakespeare's grammar school Aesopic Latin text, Miss Yoder's was to present Shakespeare's artistic and dramatic technique in using Aesop. Dr. Baldwin succeeded. Miss Yoder adds little to his chapter, or to the current learning of reasonably well-read students of Shakespeare.

In Part II the study presents 2500 animal comparisons; some hundred or more, classified, are set forth in the text. For the other 2400 the reader is relegated to a wilderness of notes, graphs, comparative columns, and long lists of play references, calling for a secondary and laborious research from the reader who is interested. On page 27 the author says: "No one has analyzed the specific way in which Shakespeare uses the artistic device of animal metaphor for a consistent portrayal of individuals and groups, and I propose to attempt a beginning of such an analysis."

With courage, industry that probably extended through years, and unusual aptitude for research, this beginning was made and followed through. If Shakespeare uses this common literary device of animal metaphor more often and more artistically than other poets, it is merely because the volume and the poetic quality of his work is in all respects greater than theirs.

The Editor regrets to announce the decease on February 26, 1949 of John Hannigan, who wrote the review printed above shortly before his death. Mr. Hannigan, for many years an officer of the Shakespeare Association and a leader of Shakespeare interests in Boston, was the inspiration of the Shakespeare Club of the Boston Bar Association.



NOTES AND COMMENT

THE SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL OF 1949

American members of the Shakespeare Association who are planning trips to Europe this summer will welcome the following information, obtained from Stratford-upon-Avon, and presented here to help readers plan their visits to the Memorial Theatre in its Ninetieth Season.

The Shakespeare Festival for 1949 opened with *Macbeth* on Saturday evening, April 16th. There will be evening performances six days a week, Monday through Saturday, with matinées on Wednesdays and Saturdays, until the closing date of October 1st. Featured this summer will be presentations of *Macbeth*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Cymbeline*, *Othello*, and *King Henry VIII*.

The Godfrey Tearle production of *Othello* with Diana Wynyard, presented last year, received such wide acclaim that it now returns to the stage with the same cast. It will open on the evening of June 17th. Miss Wynyard and Mr. Tearle will also play Macbeth and Lady Macbeth in Director Anthony Quayle's production of that play.

Only the schedule for the first eight weeks of the season has been made available so far; from May on, it will be as follows: (* denotes matinée performance as well as regular)

Macbeth, Prod. by Anthony Quayle, May 2, 7*, 10, 12, 17, 23, 25*, 31; June 4*, 8*.

Midsummer Night's Dream, Prod. by Michael Benthall, May 4*, 6, 9, 14*, 18*, 24, 26, 30; June 6*, 10.

Much Ado About Nothing, Prod. by John Gielgud, May 3, 5, 11*, 13, 16, 19, 28*; June 1, 3, 7, 9.

Cymbeline, Prod. by Michael Benthall, May 20, 21*, 27; June 2, 11*.

King Henry VIII will not open until July 15, under the direction of Tyrone Guthrie.

Tickets are available by writing to the box office for reserved seats, (enclosed stamped addressed envelopes are required,) or through most of the Stratford hotels, through several London hotels, or through any representative of Messrs. Keith Prowse & Co. Ltd., 159, New Bond Street, London, W. 1. They range in price from 10/6, 7/6, 5/- in the stalls and dress circle, to 2/6 in the balcony. The Manager advises previous bookings to avoid disappointment in the "phenomenal demand" for seats at each performance.

About a quarter of a million people are expected to come from all parts of the world to this summer's Festival, after last year's most successful season ever. The new Director, Anthony Quayle, has taken over, and the productions have a new and exciting flavor in the old and familiar setting of Warwickshire.

SHAKESPEARE ON WHEELS

The greatest single figure on the modern Shakespearean stage, both as actress and directress, is Margaret Webster. This winter and spring she has brought a new idea—or a very old idea—into Shakespeare production with her touring company presenting *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* all over the United States.

A brief look at her Shakespeare career will reveal how extraordinarily qualified she is to bring these two great plays into the colleges and towns of this country which have never seen such productions before. Several seasons with the Old Vic in London preceded her coming to New York to stage *Richard II* at the specific request of Maurice Evans. She then staged for him the full length *Hamlet* and *Henry IV*, followed by *Twelfth Night* and *Macbeth*, with Helen Hayes and Judith Anderson in the last two respectively. She produced also Paul Robeson's *Othello* and *The Tempest* with Vera Zorina.

For the American Repertory Theatre of which she was co-founder, she directed *Henry VIII*. She has written *Shakespeare Without Tears*, as well as several articles on the Bard.

She thinks of the present "Shakespeare on Wheels" troupe, the Margaret Webster Shakespeare Company, as beginning "the building of a bridge between the professional theatre in America, whose business it is to produce the great plays of the past, and the students all over the country who are engaged in the study of them . . ." Foremost in the excellent cast aiding her in this endeavor are Carol Goodner, who plays the Queen in *Hamlet*, and Lady Macbeth; Alfred Ryder, *Hamlet* and *Malcolm*, and Joseph Holland, *Claudius* and *Macbeth*. With stage designs by Wolfgang Roth and music by Lehman Engel, with twenty-two actors and five technicians, the Company covers about 80 engagements, some as far as two hundred miles apart. They have been met with acclaim all over the country, not only for their superb productions, but for the merit of their original idea—to bring great plays to life "for audiences who, perhaps, know them only from the printed page."

Correction: The first paragraph in the second section of "Current Fashions in *Hamlet* Criticism" in the January issue should have made clear that Dr. Frederic Wertham's analysis of *Hamlet* moved G. W. Stonier to pronounce it the most influential since Bradley's.



SHAKESPEARE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1948)

Compiled by

DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

THE following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which were thought to have contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in *italics*. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1948 is to be understood. The following abbreviations have been employed:

B	—Bulletin	HLQ	— <i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
Ba	— <i>Baconiana</i>	il(s)	—illustration(s)
Cambr	—Cambridge	intr	—introduction
comp(p)	—compiler(s)	J	—Journal
CU	—Columbia University	JEGP	— <i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
cy	—century	Libr	—Library
Diss	—Dissertation	Lit	—Literature
ed	—editor	Ln	—London
Edinb	—Edinburgh	M	—Magazine
edn	—edition	MLN	— <i>Modern Language Notes</i>
EHR	— <i>English Historical Review</i>	MLQ	— <i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
Elizn(s)	—Elizabethan(s)	MLR	— <i>Modern Language Review</i>
Engl	—English	Mo	—Monthly
FQ	— <i>Faerie Queene</i>		

The Editor expresses his thanks to Mrs. Tannenbaum for compiling the Bibliography for 1948, and is glad to acknowledge aid fully given by Dr Herman I. Radin, William B. White and Russell N. De Vinney.

MP —Modern Philology
 Wash —Washington
 MS —Manuscript
 NC —North Carolina
 NQ —Notes and Queries
 NY —New York
 Oxf —Oxford
 P —Paris
 p(p) —page(s)
 pl(l) —plate(s)
 PMLA —Publication of the Modern
 Language Association
 PQ —Philological Quarterly
 Pt —Part
 prodn —production

Q —Quarterly
 R —Review, Revue
 RES —Review of English Studies
 SAB —Shakespeare Association Bul-
 letin
 Sec —Section
 Sh —Shakespeare
 SJ —Shakespeare Jahrbuch
 Sp —Spectator
 SP —Studies in Philology
 SRL —Saturday Review of Literature
 tr(r) —translator(s)
 TLS —Times Literary Supplement
 U —University
 UP —University Press

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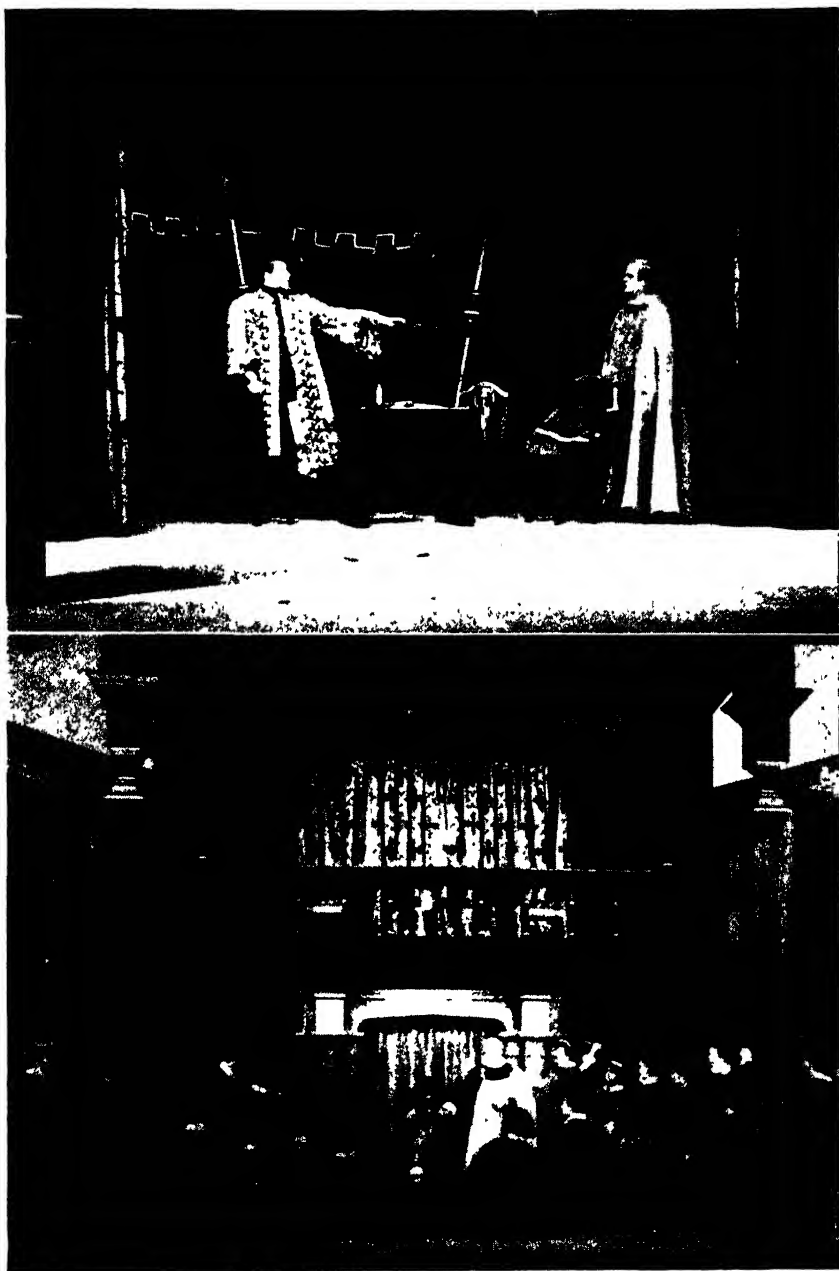
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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



Othello's Crucial Moment

The Suicide of Antony

First Production of a Shakespearean
Play in Stratford-upon-Avon

"Some Clues for *Coriolanus*"

VOLUME XXIV

JULY, 1949

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GODFREY TEARLE'S 1948 PRODUCTION OF "OTHELLO" WHICH IS TO BE PLAYED AGAIN THIS SEASON. IN THE ABOVE DIANA WYNYARD APPEARED AS DESDEMONA, JOHN JUSTIN AS CASSIO, ENA BURRIL AS EMILIA, MR. TEARLE AS OTHELLO, AND ANTHONY QUAYLE AS IAGO.



OTHELLO'S CRUCIAL MOMENT

By JOHN WILCOX

THE MOMENT when it first dawns on Othello that Iago would have him suspect Desdemona is crucial. It is crucial in the lives of the characters, and it is crucial in the creative process of the author. The difficulty of explaining the conduct of the characters during this brief time has produced much of the criticism of the tragedy, which consists largely of analyses of Shakespeare's artistry in motivating Othello's acceptance of Iago's first insinuations. The voluminous expatiations on the villain's skill in wrong-doing, the elaborate searches for evidence of the hero's lack of acute social judgment, and the attempts to refer the problem to Elizabethan psychology or to dramatic conventions of the Shakespearean stage,—all these tend to focus on this moment.¹

No one apparently has placed the time before the familiar entry of Othello and Iago, III, iii, 28. The average reader assumes that Iago's

Ha! I like not that.

plants the suggestion and that the poison is fully at work forty lines later when Othello exclaims,

Prythee, no more; let him come when he will;
I will deny thee nothing.

This view asks one to believe that thirty-five vague and equivocal words of Iago's would plant and direct suspicion of the most specific sort before it would excite a violent reaction against the accuser. Let us examine the scene. According to the conventional visualization, Othello enters care-free, poised, and completely devoid of suspicion

or tendency to suspect. At a distance he sees Cassio and Desdemona talking as he has often seen them talking before, for the three were good friends during the wooing back in Venice. Iago's "I like not that" acts like a match to a fuse. The hidden fires of jealousy begin to burn furiously. The critical reader of the text might wonder how Othello could guess what it was Iago did not like. Iago's "guilty-like" five lines later is equally lacking in designation of what is guilty-like. But Othello responds without uncertainty. To Desdemona's request to call Cassio back, he seems cold, evasive, already in the throes of a jealousy he is not quite willing to admit verbally. When she seems to lose all sense of social propriety and madly repeats and repeats her inopportune request, he shouts excitedly that he will deny her nothing. After she leaves, fifteen lines later, Othello exclaims,

Excellent wretch! Perdition catch my soul,
But I do love thee! and when I love thee not,
Chaos is come again.

Doubt possesses the man, and before the scene is ended he will be planning a deadly revenge on his hapless wife. The conception of the play just outlined fixes the crucial moment. In doing so, however, it leaves about as implausible a passage as can be found in serious dramatic literature. No wonder Desdemona is bewildered! Othello should be bewildered too. The audience knows that Othello will become jealous, because Iago has said he would produce this effect. But Othello was not present when this was said, and if he has not been told off stage, he has no real cue to get jealous at Iago's vague insinuations. Instead he would become devastatingly indignant at his effrontery in questioning Desdemona's fidelity.

There has long existed another view, one that postpones the crucial moment as much as two hundred lines. According to the notes in the Variorum *Othello*, this view was an acting innovation by Salvini or Fechter in the mid-nineteenth century. From them it reached Edwin Booth. The scene is improved in plausibility by this

interpretation, to which Professor Kittredge has substantially given his approval. As the latter visualizes the scene described above, Iago's initial insinuations are all directed at Cassio, not at Desdemona. Othello's replies to Desdemona are not displeased: Othello is simply busy. His "*Prithee no more* means merely, 'Pray don't think you must urge me further; your petition is granted!' " Desdemona's pleading is amusing and "Othello's mood is one of enthusiastic delight in Desdemona's charming ways; but he has business to attend to." After Desdemona leaves, Iago turns Othello's suspicion from Cassio to Desdemona through successive insinuations.² Kittredge does not indicate just when the poison strikes home, but Fechter and Booth place it clearly. Iago has just said that Desdemona deceived her father in marrying him. Othello says:

And so she did.

Booth would have this line given "Hoarsely and with despairing look." Fechter says, "Othello stops at once, as struck by a thunderbolt! His face changes by degrees, his eyes open as if a veil had been taken away!"³

It may be reasonably urged that the delay of the crucial moment invented by these actors simplifies the event by awaiting Desdemona's exit from the scene. It may slightly improve the credibility by prolonging the time when Othello is heedlessly listening to poisonous words. It is hard to see, however, how this delay removes the basic implausibility of Othello's lack of resentment when he first senses that his wife is being vilified. It does not answer the objection that Othello's speeches to Desdemona *can* be read with intense passion and that the ability to play the passage lightly may be more actor's art than author's intention. Desdemona's absurd importunities can also be played lightly, but there may be reasonable doubt that Shakespeare invented Desdemona's unconscious playing into Iago's hands without knowing he had done it. The problem apparently persists.

In a description of the skeptical criticism of Stoll and Schücking, Karl Young pointed out that they find illogical gaps in some of

Shakespeare's greatest plays, places where breaks occur. Young says,

This lesion in the organism in the drama may be described, simply, as a cleavage between the character and the plot. In essential parts of certain of these plays the critic finds the personality of the hero developing into qualities and magnitude that do not conform to the fabric of the action. The personality seems to outgrow the design. A psychological inconsistency is discerned between men and their deeds. What the hero *does*, we are told, cannot be reconciled with what he *is*.

Young goes on to illustrate this from *Lear* and *Othello*. In his discussion of the latter we have this clear statement of the crux mentioned above:

Let us observe the application of this notion to such a play as *Othello*. For the action of this tragedy Shakespeare availed himself of an Italian novel of Cinthio, and to the events of this tale the dramatist adhered with substantial fidelity. As one reads the Italian story one casually observes that the hero's jealousy is aroused very suddenly, and that the tempter succeeds with rare facility. But this observation gives the reader no pause, for the unnamed Moor has no substance in the way of personality, and one is ready to accept whatever the narrator may offer. The tale is a mere succession of events, and in the absence of human vitality the reader must be receptive to the excitement of the happenings or he will receive nothing at all. The Moor yields easily; but why not? He has no human authenticity with which to resist any action that the story-teller may record or contrive.

Now no one need be told that, having chosen this narrative fabric for his action, Shakespeare erected in the midst of the borrowed events a fresh and potent creation whom we know as Othello. This personage occupies the role of Cinthio's Moor; but the man, Othello, never existed in the world until Shakespeare created him. If, then, in the midst of a story by Cinthio we encounter this intense person created by Shakespeare, we may justly enough inquire whether this new dramatic figure will submit to the action provided for him. Will all of the new psychology conform to all of the old intrigue?

The orthodox belief is, of course, that the behavior of Othello is psychologically rational. that he is a pure and trustful spirit who fell through the uncanny guile of Iago. But this doctrine the skeptics of our day do not readily accept, and the chief obstacle to their acceptance is the personality of Othello himself.

Through the first part of the play — before the temptation — this personage moves before us in the full dignity of his passionate love, his eloquence, his poetry, his self-control, his sagacity as a public servant. Othello's assured command over Brabantio's turbulence, his romantic charm and quiet candor in the council-chamber, his military mastery and beatification in love after his arrival in Cyprus — these phenomena reveal the lofty personage who is made to succumb to the manœuvres of Iago within one scene of the third act, and who at the end of the scene is found kneeling beside his tempter, swearing blood and vengeance. One fairly wonders whether the ready vengeance and the kneeling figure are not a bit of sensational story rather than part of the man we have by this time come to know. For after the contrivances of Iago have run their course of agitation, this same man, Othello, emerges again from the frantic intrigue, and once more we feel the presence of the earlier personality, in his pride, now pathetic, in his power, now softened, in his love, now understood. Would this man have succumbed to jealousy through such solicitings as those provided in this intrigue? Would Othello have trusted this calumniator rather than his own wife? Could the person that Othello *is* ever have done all the things that Othello is made to *do*? The skeptics say he could not.⁴

For a good many years it has seemed to me that Mr. Stoll's explanation of this situation by the use of the convention of the "calumniator credited" has left something to be added. If Shakespeare resorted to this convention he must have recognized that the breach between character and action existed. If he discerned the need for credibility at this point, he may well have had recourse to something more interesting intrinsically than the commonplace convention. Why did Shakespeare go to all the effort he did to demonstrate the villainy of Iago? In *Much Ado About Nothing* he simply mentions that Don John is a bastard, and has a mean disposition, and then he sets him to work calumniating Hero. The author's stress on Iago, quite needless for the convention, is so great that it even

seems to some minds to make the play what Parrott calls a study of the power of evil in the world.⁵ Perhaps another look at the play will help.

It is hard to take a fresh view of a Shakespeare play because of the vitality in the individual mind of traditional views. There persists, for example, a predisposition to think of Shakespeare as writing for readers, not for spectators. Much criticism apparently assumes that Shakespeare expressed himself fully in the *words* of his dramatic dialogue. How easy it is to forget almost that, as a dramatist, he tells his story in visual and auditory terms? One tends to overlook the fact that even a sound reading of a dramatic text is only an approximation to the original. Much of what the author conceived existed only in the directed voice, directed movement, directed gesture, and directed expression of his actors. We may recover some of these elements contributed by direction if we consent to be aided by specific knowledge of dramatic technique and even more by a determination to see through the text to the play in terms of the author's physical stage, his acting personalities, his devices for focusing audience attention. We must resolve to restrain our roving imaginations from interpreting as freely as we do novels. For example Bradley says of the personality of Desdemona:

And when we watch her in her suffering and death we are so penetrated by the sense of her heavenly sweetness and self-surrender that we almost forget that she had shown herself quite as exceptional in the active assertion of her own soul and will. She tends to become to us predominantly pathetic, the sweetest and most pathetic of Shakespeare's women, as innocent as Miranda and as loving as Viola, yet suffering more deeply than Cordelia or Imogen. And she seems to lack that independence and strength of spirit which Cordelia and Imogen possess, and which in a manner raises them above suffering. She appears passive and defenseless, and can oppose to wrong nothing but the infinite endurance and forgiveness of a love that knows not how to resist or resent. She thus becomes at once the most beautiful example of this love, and the most pathetic heroine in Shakespeare's world.⁶

Such thoughts come to the free revery of an Oxford professor as

he turns the pages of a familiar text in the quiet of his study. It may all be adumbrated in the human vision of the dramatic representation of her. But on the whole Shakespeare gave the audience little chance to center attention on her. Even the poignant hundred lines in which Desdemona prepares for bed is shadowed by Othello's cruel madness in the scene of the pretended bordello. Even when absent, Othello dominates. Lovely and pathetic Desdemona seems when the spectators stop to think about her, but they can do so only casually when Burbage is down stage.

In search of a fresh view this present examination starts under the influence of what Professor Moody E. Prior calls "the limitations of certain more sophisticated and erudite studies founded on historical principles." It assumes, and tries to adhere to the assumption with consistency, that the author of *Othello* was a dramatist and that he wrote from dramatic rather than literary intentions. Any implication on the reader's part that this disparages or is intended to disparage, the literary quality of the result, is not conceded.

About 1603 the company of players wished another tragedy. Burbage's acting, his voice, his presence, his power to make emotions visible and audible lay before Shakespeare as plainly as the technical resources of instrumental virtuosos before a composer of music. The reason a theater need a new play is that it wishes a new story to tell dramatically. It wants a new combination of words, gestures, tones of voice, relationships of characters, emotions, and clashes of wills,—events of visual and auditory interest. By what sequence of choices the election fell on the obscure and unliterary trifle in Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* we shall doubtless never know; but the tale does present clearly visible theatrical merits, which one can readily imagine Shakespeare pointed out in preliminary discussions with his fellow players.

First of all, the hero kills his wife, not villainously but with a mistaken sense of justice. Here is an exciting event in which pity may vie with horror. The principal in these extraordinary occurrences is a dark-skinned Moor, whose Mediterranean appearance may recall the militant Turks or Tamburlaine; at least it gives the

tale an exotic touch of visible local color. Then, paradoxically, from fabulously licentious Venice where, as Englishmen then believed, marital infidelity was a social convention not reproved by so much as a harsh word,—yes, from this very sinkhole of sin comes this striking heroine, a chaste wife brutally killed by her husband on the mere suspicion of infidelity. These fascinating events, Shakespeare would observe, are brought about by a villain, a type of character the theater never sees too much of. Maybe modern critics misjudge the Elizabethan playwright in seeking literary motives for situations made desirable by the nature of success in the theater. Perhaps Shakespeare demonstrated in his prospectus that profitable applause awaited the successful presentation of these theatrical events and closed the deal when Burbage rejoiced over the expectation of a part he could all but “tear a cat in.”

Shakespeare's thinking in plotting the play cannot be reproduced from a comparison of his source with his finished tragedy, but it is surely possible to discern something of the working of his mind in the alterations he made and in the parts he retained. With a steady orientation on the single criterion of theatrical needs, one can see how the great drama grew out of Cinthio's tawdry and ineffectual narration. This is not the occasion to consider all the points of comparison, for we are concerned only with Othello's crucial moment.⁷

More emphatically than a novelist, a playwright must start with his conclusion. Plainly Cinthio's account of protracted events subsequent to the death of Desdemona is theatrically anticlimactic and useless.⁸ The selection of a noble suicide for Othello and a quick torture for Iago brings a visually presentable conclusion. This adjusts the focus on Burbage as Othello and gives him opportunity for a magnificent, emotional, lofty close. It allows the play to reveal Othello's nobility from the beginning of the story, make Desdemona's marriage to him reasonable, and give the audience two fine-high-minded characters to admire and pity for their dreadful mistakes. It is hardly necessary to imagine an Aristotelian principle of tragedy at work to explain Shakespeare's elevation of Cinthio's tawdry Moor into the noble Othello. Heightened interest for the audi-

ence is entirely adequate. It is possible also that long before Schücking and Stoll, Shakespeare perceived that this heightening of Othello's moral and intellectual stature cancelled Cinthio's basic motivation, the natural jealousy of the Moor.

In casting about for a new way to make the dramatically essential murder of Desdemona plausible, for plausibility is often as near as theatrical considerations allow a dramatist to come to sound literary causation, Shakespeare decided that Cinthio's commonplace Italian ensign must be magnified into as big and supersubtle a villain as English audiences can imagine an Italian to be. Perhaps it was at about this point in planning these fundamental decisions that Shakespeare saw the crux with which we started, that no amount of super-subtlety will make credible the moment when Othello first listens to Iago. The point about human nature has already been emphasized by endless commentaries. When a friend, no matter how respected, casts his first recognizable word of suspicion on the fidelity of a man's wife, he runs a definite risk, and, if wise, is ready to dodge. I think it was Karl Young who remarked that in real life the Othello of the first two acts would kick Iago down stairs in the third. Or, as Mr. Stoll suggests, "he should have struck him as at Aleppo once he did the turban'd Turk." Some such reaction is psychologically inevitable but dramatically impossible, for the play must somehow go on to its tragic close. As Young says, Othello has been developed from Cinthio's shadowy Moor until he is a man who can no longer perform the action which he must perform if the play is to be written. Shakespeare's Iago could get away with as much as any man, but an immediate explosion of uncontrollable violence is the most probable reaction for Othello as soon as he hears the first word of dirty insinuation, no matter how supersubtle.

I wish to point out the internal evidence that Shakespeare perceived this crux and resolved it by a device that actors and critics have not seen. Within the play itself I find reasons for thinking he decided to advance the crucial moment to an earlier time than has hitherto been recognized. In this way he was able to render the impossible act as plausible as he could *through taking it off stage*. The man who wrote the prologue to *Henry V* knew vague imagina-

tion seems more convincing than poor representation. Each spectator will obligingly think off-stage speeches adequate on mere hints as to their import if the hints are coupled with visual evidence of their adequacy. By offering Iago's impossibly difficult first hints of Desdemona's infidelity off stage, Shakespeare depends upon the imaginary forces of the spectator. The textual evidence that he employed this modification of the convention of the calumniator credited indicates three separate steps in the device. First, the calumniator and his lie must be given a very full exposition before the crucial moment. Second, the crucial moment must occur off stage, so that no member of the audience can ever be tempted to judge of the ineffectiveness of specific words or acts, as critics have done *ad infinitum* with III, iii. Third, on his entrance after the off-stage talk, the fact that Othello is convinced must be visible, not spoken. Othello's verbal admission will lag slowly after.

When I note that these three steps are envisaged in, or allowed by, the text of the play, the objection may be offered that this explanation is a mere conjecture. To this I must reply that, for that matter, so is the opposite or any other notion. And of necessity, for every interpreter works from what he conceives as the author's intent. The present view uses known theatrical techniques and effects instead of depending upon literary techniques as manifest in the mere wording of the text. But the notion is not thereby rendered vulnerable to the charge that it is too conjectural. The objection may also be offered that this explanation does not remove the difficulty in making the crux psychologically reasonable to those who demand of an Elizabethan drama the same tight motivation expected in a Victorian novel. This argument has been disposed of by any number of modern skeptical critics: such motivation does not exist.

Allow me a moment to point out the details of Shakespeare's skilful dramaturgic device:

First the stress on Iago in the opening half of the play focuses attention deftly. The nobility and serenity of Othello is never doubted. But infinite pains are taken to build Iago into a great bundle of self-confessed, villainous subtleties, a man apparently capable of

miracles of soul-poisoning. While Othello in the first act handles the brawl and the meeting of the senate with perfect aplomb, Iago is given three lines to Othello's two in which to assert his own villainy and his malicious determination. In the second act, Iago is given four lines to each one of Othello's. The impression of an irresistible force going to meet the immovable Othello heightens visibly. Othello's calm seems stupid, blind; and every groundling wants to shout, "Iago's not honest." Othello's doom is not made plausible by the lines of III, iii; it is made clear in advance to every spectator that Iago can and will do what he threatens. Even the time and method are indicated at the end of the second act. Iago promises to "pour this pestilence into his ear" and concludes with these emphatic words:

Two things are to be done:
My wife must move for Cassio to her mistress;
I'll set her on;
Myself the while to draw the Moor apart,
And bring him jump where he may Cassio find
Soliciting his wife.

Shakespeare has made very sure this calumniator will be credited. These words are placed where they get an exit emphasis.

Then, second, no audience can help being tense with expectation when the six-line scene, III, ii, shows a sane Othello in the act of being drawn apart to join Iago off stage. Iago's exit could surely stress the point with pantomime and facial expression that would almost shout, "Watch what I am going to do with him, now that I am getting him apart!" Critical literature fails to give a tenable reason why Shakespeare invented this simple scene. What better chance could he give Iago? Every thing is working out for the best for this worst of all possible villains, just as the plot demands. Too tense for rational Coleridge-like reflections on the soundness of motivation, the audience leans forward in convinced expectation as the third part of the device brings the two men back on the stage. The first twenty-eight lines of the next scene heighten Iago's malevolence by showing once more how completely faithful Desdemona is. As they come, Iago's silent but significant leer indicates plainly "See!

I have done it!" Iago is visibly bringing Othello jump with Cassio's apparent solicitation. Surely Othello's silent appearance could carry evident perturbation to show that the crucial moment had met diabolical success and that Othello's poise is gone forever. Iago's

Ha! I like not that.

is not a vague, tentative start. It is a pointed, suggestive insinuation tossed into a poisoned mind obviously prepared by off-stage talk to believe the worst.

No one will ever know what Iago's off-stage words were. Only their effectiveness is clear. The crisis of explosion has somehow been passed on the fortifications. Othello has entered trusting Iago, suspicious of Desdemona and Cassio, but generally reserved and evasive. Iago must still bring him to the point of open admission of his imagined cuckoldom. That is the business of III, iii, but no part of this discussion.

Wayne University

¹It is unnecessary to amplify here this point which is a continuous thread through the seventy interesting and sensitive pages of E. E. Stoll, *Othello: An Historical and Comparative Study* (Minneapolis, 1915). This present paper can be thought of as a proposed alteration in a minor detail of Mr. Stoll's major thesis.

²G. L. Kittridge, *Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare*, p. 1290-95.

³Variorum *Othello*, p. 184n.

⁴Karl Young, "The Shakespeare Skeptics," *North American Review*, CCXV (1922), 384-85.

⁵Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare*, p. 725.

⁶A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London (1904), p. 203.

⁷After the above was written I looked in Mr. Harley Granville-Barker *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Vol. II (Princeton, 1947) and found an extended analysis of the relation of *Othello* to Cinthio's tale similar to the procedure I have briefly employed here.

⁸For details of the seventh novella of the third decade of Gerald Cinthio's *Hecatomithi*, from which the action of the play was devised, see the reprint in the Variorum *Othello*, pp. 377-389.



THE SUICIDE OF ANTONY IN
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, Act IV, Scene xiv

By WALLACE A. BACON

ONE OF THE most fascinating sources of illumination for the critic who has a sensible desire to know what happens to Shakespeare on the stage is the actors' business which is handed down through prompt books, tradition, and critical reviews of performances. Frequently a passage depends for its illumination upon just such extra-textual considerations; frequently an unexpected bit of stage business will change one's attitude toward a scene or a character in the action. Happily, studies of such matters are from time to time set forth for students, though they are perhaps too frequently ignored in the university classroom.

Because of its essential connection with the character of the hero, an interesting problem in the staging of Act IV, Scene xiv, in the Katharine Cornell production of *Antony and Cleopatra* seems to me to warrant recording. The incident of which I write shows how keenly the members of that often brilliant production respected the playwright's intentions, and how true to the text Mr. Godfrey Tearle sought to keep his Antony.

The play had already finished its run in New York and elsewhere when it came to the Blackstone Theatre in Chicago, where the production finally closed down in the spring of 1948. A group of my students and I from the School of Speech at Northwestern University went in a body to see the performance, which we had been discussing for several days in advance, and the next day spent the class hour in comparing our reactions to sets, lighting, charac-

terization, delivery, and all those other aspects of production in which the students showed a keen and lively interest. I was struck by one comment by a young actor, Frederick Congdon, which coincided exactly with a reaction which I had already discussed with Miss Claudia Webster, one of the directors in the University Theatre. The comment was on Act IV, Scene xiv, and it concerned Antony's preparation for death.

In the scene, after Mardian has brought news of Cleopatra's "death," Antony delivers the famous "Unarm, Eros; the long day's task is done, / And we must sleep." He sends Mardian away, bids Eros undo his armor, and sends Eros to carry from the stage the "bruised pieces." Left alone, Antony says,

I will o'er take thee, Cleopatra, and
Weep for my pardon. So it must be, for now
All length is torture; since the torch is out,
Lie down, and stray no farther. Now all labour
Mars what it does; yea, very force entangles
Itself with strength. Seal then, and all is done.
Eros!—I come, my queen!—Eros!—Stay for me!
Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand,
And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze.
Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops,
And all the haunt be ours. Come, Eros, Eros!

According to Mr. Tearle's interpretation at this point, Antony, who had already spoken of "sleep" in the earlier lines to Eros, intended during Eros' absence from the stage to commit suicide, and half drew his sword from its scabbard to complete the action. The impulse was marked. The conclusion to be drawn by the audience, evidently, was that Antony had not the courage to kill himself.

Evidence of other handling of the scene is not easy to come by. Theobald, as quoted in the Variorum text, makes it quite clear that he, too, thought Antony about to kill himself with the line "Seal then, and all is done." And Granville-Barker points out the lack of courage displayed by this fallen star. Furthermore, the text itself

bears what may be taken as evidence that Antony intended to kill himself and was stayed by a lack of courage, for upon the return of Eros, Antony says to him,

Since Cleopatra died
I have liv'd in such dishonour that the gods
Detest my baseness. I, that with my sword
Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack
The courage of a woman; less noble mind
Than she which by her death our Caesar tells,
"I am conqueror of myself."

And he bids Eros strike the blow which will deliver him. Furthermore, when Eros instead kills himself and lies dead before his master (a scene which was played with consummate skill in Miss Cornell's production), Antony addresses his body thus:

Thrice-nobler than myself!
Thou teachest me, O valiant Eros, what
I should, and thou couldst not. My queen and Eros
Have by their brave instruction got upon me
A nobleness in record; but I will be
A bridegroom in my death, and run into 't
As to a lover's bed. Come, then; and, Eros,
Thy master dies thy scholar: to do thus
I learn'd of thee.

And he falls upon his own sword, botches the job, and lies agonized upon the stage, a mighty soldier reduced to the most abject of spectacles. By his own admission, Antony (1) has lacked the courage of a woman, (2) has been less noble than Eros, and (3) has been the scholar of both Eros and the queen.

Still, I would contend that Antony ought not, when he says "Seal then, and all is done," to begin to remove his blade from its sheath to kill himself. There is a difference, and a very real difference, between Antony's calling himself a coward and Mr. Tearle's *showing* Antony to be a coward. It is one thing to say that Antony, in his despair, looks with shame upon the fact of his remaining alive, and condemns himself for enduring the whips and scorns of time; it is something far different for the actor to give the impression that

Antony's self-condemnation is to be taken as a statement of the truth. The drawing of the sword during Antony's soliloquy specifically indicates an actor's belief that Antony *is* reluctant to take his own life, that he *is* less courageous than his queen. The action becomes thus an interpretation of the lines beginning "Since Cleopatra died," and indicates not only that Antony thinks himself base, but that he is indeed base in his lack of courage. The question resolves itself into one of two possibilities: either the drawing of the sword is proper, and Antony tries and fails to commit suicide, or the drawing of the sword is false to the spirit of Antony, whose despairing words about himself are not meant to be taken literally by the audience. I take it that the latter possibility is the correct one, and that Shakespeare never means his audience to turn from Antony in the scene.

Antony, when he says "The long day's task is done," intends to die. There is no question about that. His bidding of Eros to take the armor away is not, I think, an indication that he wishes to be alone to kill himself, but rather an opportunity to say aloud, and alone, what is in his heart, and, on a practical level, a way to get rid of the suit of armor so that it will not clutter up the stage when the bodies are removed (a point which Granville-Barker also makes). The speech "Seal then, and all is done," is simply a conclusion to the farewell which he has been addressing to Cleopatra and to us, and is followed at once by his call to Eros. Eros is intended all the while to do the actual dispatching. Had Shakespeare meant Antony to make a gesture of suicide and then fall back, his usual practice would certainly have been to show the shift in intention, to show the flagging of will, in words. Antony has made up his mind to die and intends that Eros shall do the deed.

The point is clarified by the action which follows. Eros returns, and Antony, announcing that life is now become dishonour, says,

I, that with my sword
Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack
The courage of a woman; less noble mind
Than she which by her death our Caesar tells,
"I am conqueror of myself."

Antony means *not* that he is too cowardly to kill himself, but that he has been dishonoured by not having died *earlier*. Since there is no hope, death is the only possible answer; Cleopatra has seen that, Antony thinks, and has been quicker in honor than he. But the distinction between dying at his *own* hand and dying at *Eros*' hand—a distinction which we make at once—has not, surely, entered Antony's mind, for he proceeds, having made the matter clear to his soldier, to counsel him thus:

Thou art sworn, Eros,
That, when the exigent should come, which now
Is come indeed, when I should see behind me
The inevitable prosecution of
Disgrace and horror, that, on my command,
Thou then wouldst kill me. Do't; the time is come.
Thou strik'st not me, 'tis Caesar thou defeat'st.
Put colour in thy cheek.

It is inconceivable that Antony should say "Put colour in thy cheek" to Eros, pretending to be full of courage himself, if he had already shown himself a coward, and the audience is likely to turn from him in disgust if he does. Antony is fallen, indeed, and is now an object of pity to the spectators, but he is not so low as that. If he is a ruin, he is still a magnificent ruin, and Shakespeare is not trying to turn us from him, but rather to keep us with him in his sorrow.

The next speech is a further argument to Eros:

Wouldst thou be window'd in great Rome and see
Thy master thus with pleach'd arms, bending down
His corrigible neck, his face subdu'd
To penetrative shame, whilst the wheel'd seat
Of fortunate Caesar, drawn before him, branded
His baseness that ensued?

This may, on the one hand, be taken as the equivalent of saying, "If you won't kill me, I'll be led in triumph, for I am too cowardly to kill myself," (a thoroughly abnoxious Antony, to my mind), but it may again simply mean, as I feel that it does, that Antony is think-

ing of "death" and "*not* death" rather than of self-slaughter and slaughter by Eros. For him, death by his soldier's sword *is* the noble way out, and the only means of suicide which has occurred to him. Eros has, at some time in the past, sworn to do this deed, as the text explicitly declares, and Antony now asks him to do it:

When I did make thee free, swor'st thou not then
To do this when I bade thee? Do it at once;
Or thy precedent services are all
But accidents unpurpos'd. Draw, and come.

Antony is not, to repeat, castigating the loyal Eros for fearing to do what Antony himself is unwilling to do, but simply asking for death. And surely at that time when Antony had "freed" Eros, whenever that may have been (before the action of the play opens, presumably), he had not extracted from him the promise to kill his leader when the time should demand it simply because he knew that he would be afraid to kill himself. That would make of Antony a premeditated coward, and not the great Roman soldier we know him to have been. The argument will scarcely bear up under such scrutiny. All Antony is saying is, "It shames me to live, now that Cleopatra has shown me the nobility of death. I ask you to kill me, as you once promised to do." The scene is one of woe, but it is not one of shame. Antony may call himself a coward, but his death seems to us not an act of cowardice but the only Roman solution—or would, did he not heighten the pathos almost unbearably by bungling the job later on. He stands firm as he awaits the blow from Eros, but of course it does not come. It is only as Eros lies dead before him, having duplicated the supposed suicide of Cleopatra (her manner of death has not been described, of course), that Antony knows what must be done. The shame is that both the queen and Eros have preceded him in death; when it now becomes clear to him that he must kill himself, and that Eros has taught him the way to die, he acknowledges it at once and draws forth his sword. He is Eros' scholar, but he is also Eros' lord. We love Eros for being unwilling to slay his great chief, but we do not—or ought not—say, "He was braver than Antony."

While it is perhaps dangerous to argue interpretation in one play by drawing upon another play, the parallel between *Antony and*

Cleopatra and *Julius Caesar* is too marked at this point to be ignored, and certainly the question is not one of cowardice in *Caesar*. Brutus and Cassius, like Antony and Cleopatra, abhor the thought of being led in disgrace in a triumphal procession. That is complete and final ignominy, and utterly abhorrent to all four of them, as they expressly declare. In Act V, Scene i, Brutus and Cassius consider what must be done if they lose upon the plains of Philippi:

Cassius. If we do lose this battle, then is this
The very last time we shall speak together.
What are you then determined to do?

Brutus. Even by the rule of that philosophy
By which I did blame Cato for the death
Which he did give himself,—I know not how,
But I do find it cowardly and vile,
For fear of what might fall, so to prevent
The time of life.—arming myself with patience
To stay the providence of some high powers
That govern us below.

This is a Christian stand, and it fits well with Hamlet's pause knowing that the Everlasting has fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter. But Cassius, knowing the alternative, asks:

Then, if we lose this battle,
You are contented to be led in triumph
Thorough the streets of Rome?

Brutus. No, Cassius, no. Think not, thou noble Roman,
That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome;
He bears too great a mind.

Here is the question posed, but there is no answer, really, to Cassius.

Cassius, it would seem, is ready to slay himself. But interestingly enough, that is not what is in Cassius' mind, as V. iii shows conclusively. Cassius intends to die, "to prevent the time of life," but it is not suicide which he contemplates, though that is, of course, the method which occurs naturally and immediately to us when we hear him speak. V. iii, however, shows him in an action almost exactly parallel with the Antony-Eros scene. Eros is here parallel

with Pindarus, servant to Cassius. Cassius, in words which remind us forcibly of Antony's later cry, says, to the news of Titinius' seizure (which, like Cleopatra's death, is false news),

O, coward that I am, to live so long
To see my best friend ta'en before my face!
[*Pindarus comes down*]

Come hither, sirrah.
In Parthia did I take thee prisoner;
And then I swore thee, saving of thy life,
That whatsoever I did bid thee do,
Thou shouldst attempt it. Come now, keep thine oath,
Now be a freeman; and with this good sword
That ran through Caesar's bowels, search this bosom.
Stand not to answer; here, take thou the hilts,
And, when my face is cover'd, as 'tis now,
Guide thou the sword.

Unlike Eros, Pindarus stabs his lord, but he does so regretfully. Shall we say that Cassius has died a coward? He has only died in the high Roman fashion, and it presages the death of Brutus, who finally does, in spite of his earlier declaration, "prevent the time of life," and does it nobly. Notice that Brutus has an even harder time than Antony. He asks Clitus to kill him, and Clitus backs away saying, "I'll rather kill myself." He asks Dardanius, who cannot do the deed, though both Clitus and Dardanius continue to call Brutus "noble." Finally Brutus turns to his long-time friend, his school-fellow, Volumnius, and asks,

Even for that our love of old, I prithee,
Hold thou my sword-hilts, whilst I run on it.

"That's not an office for a friend, my lord," cries Volumnius; as the alarum sounds and the cries "Fly, fly, fly" arise, Brutus turns to Strato, the last man left beside him, and says,

I prithee, Strato, stay thou by thy lord.
Thou art a fellow of a good respect;
Thy life hath had some smatch of honour in it.
Hold then my sword, and turn away thy face,
While I do run upon it. Wilt thou, Strato?

Strato clasps his hand, holds the hilt steady, and Brutus runs upon the naked blade. Thus Brutus, like Cassius, cuts short his life even in the face of the philosophy expressed earlier in the scene with Cassius. And yet there is no thought, in the lines of the play, that Brutus' death was anything less than noble, however tragic it may have been. Plutarch is as little help in this play as he is in *Antony and Cleopatra*, for he records the fact of the deaths but says nothing about the morality of them. His very silence seems to indicate that there was no moral question to be raised. Shakespeare, in a Christian era, raises the question, but he does not answer it. Ultimately his position is the position of the figures in Plutarch: death by the sword, and with the assistance of a friend, was a noble solution to an unhappy fortune when that fortune meant being led in a Roman triumph. Neither Brutus nor Cassius is thought the less of because of the manner of his death, and Strato, who held Brutus' sword, is rewarded for his faithfulness to his master by being taken into the service of Octavius. Surely Antony, chastising himself for being later in the field of death than Cleopatra and the loyal Eros, speaks only for himself, and not for us. His attempted suicide beside the body of the dead Eros is not the act of a coward, but the attempt of a ruined soldier, once the noblest Roman of them all, to prevent the time of life.

At least this is the attitude I set forth, much more simply, to a member of the cast of Miss Cornell's production, and which he, in turn, suggested to Mr. Tearle. I do not know exactly in what terms Mr. Tearle accepted the argument; perhaps it was only that he saw it was possible to keep his interpretation and still omit the business. But the fact is that during the last week of the run of *Antony and Cleopatra*, after he had been playing the rôle during some two years in England and America, he was willing to alter the stage business in so climactic a scene. I saw the play again at the final performance (my third trip, each more instructive than the last); when the scene with Eros began, I sensed at once that in some strange way the character was different. When the moment for the withdrawal of the sword came—and passed—and the action never came, it seemed to me unquestionable that the new playing was correct. What Mr. Tearle may finally have felt, only he can say. I know that he liked the scene the first time he tried it without the business, and that he never replaced the action with the sword dur-

ing the last week of the run, once having tried it. Whether he did or did not decide, ultimately, that the business ought best to be omitted, it seems to me a splendid tribute to an actor of Mr. Tearle's stature and eminence that he was willing, at the very close of a run which had been for him a personal triumph, to consider so very seriously a textual problem raised by someone he did not know and of whose criticism he had heard only by indirection. It may be said, finally, that whatever the complaints which may from time to time be lodged against particular details of a Katharine Cornell production, from first to last her productions bear the marks of the same sincerity of purpose and constant desire for clarity shown by the actor who played Antony to her Cleopatra.

Northwestern University



THE FIRST RECORDED PRODUCTION OF A SHAKESPEAREAN PLAY IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

By ISABEL ROOME MANN

*Hail, happy Stratford! envi'd be thy name!
What City boasts, than thee, a greater fame?*

ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1746, John Ward, the master of a company of strolling players, declaimed these words as part of a Prologue that preceded the production of *Othello* in the Town Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon. This production of *Othello* is—or thus far appears to be—the first recorded presentation of a Shakespearean play in Shakespeare's native town. The Prologue was written by the Rev. Joseph Greene, the Master of the Stratford Free School, who, fortunately for posterity, also wrote an account of this dramatic event, and sent the letter-account to his brother, Mr. Richard Greene, Apothecary in Litchfield. The letter manuscripts, as well as the playbill for *Othello*, were collected by J. O. Halliwell-Philipp, and are now cherished by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C.

The production of *Othello* in 1746 was a benefit production. The monumental bust of Shakespeare erected in Holy Trinity Church in Stratford a few years after the death of the Bard, had, "through length of years and other accidents become much impair'd and decay'd." Mr. John Ward, "Judicious and much Esteemed" master of a group of strolling players, who were described by Joseph Greene as "much y^e best set I have seen out of London, and in which opinion I am far from being Singular," offered the services of himself and

his company to present a play by Shakespeare. He proposed that "the profit arising from which . . . Shou'd be Solely appropriated . . . to the repairing ye Original Monument of ye poet."

Except for a little intermission, Mr. Ward's company had been playing in the Town Hall in Stratford since May. For this privilege, Mr. Ward had "on ye previous condition" voluntarily deposited in the hands of the Mayor the sum of five guineas "for ye Use of ye poor of Stratford." The players had met with much encouragement, even beyond their expectations. Whether or not they gave any other plays by Shakespeare, we do not know. No others are mentioned in the letters of either Greene or Ward. John Ward himself is remembered not so much because he was the master of a provincial company of players, but because he was a member of a renowned acting family. He was the grandfather of Mrs. Scott Siddons, the noted Shakespearean actress who was a member of David Garrick's Drury Lane company. Ward's beautiful daughter eloped with actor Roger Kemble.

Printed playbills were given out to advertise the benefit performance of *Othello*, which was scheduled for six o'clock in the evening of September 9, 1746. The audience gathered in the "Spatious Town-hall." According to the custom of the day, the play was preceded by a Prologue. That Prologue was Joseph Greene's contribution to the evening! He wrote to his brother, Richard, that his words were spoken by Mr. Ward, "who enter'd fully into my sentiments, and express'd every sentence as I cou'd wish, wth the justest Emphasis and the most exact propriety, notwithstanding he had had the composition but a very short time in his possession."

The Reverend Mr. Greene, in his Prologue of forty-five lines, emphasized the moral side of drama, a fitting attitude for a clergyman in a town that had long been under Puritan influences. After noting that Greek drama had lashed out at a "vicious Age," and that Roman Bards had displayed "Vice in its Own Odious Garb array'd," he declared that it was "wond'rous Shakespeare" who, as Hamlet suggested, held up the glass to nature, and who reasoned deeply "Whether 'tis best to be or not to be." The plot of the ensuing production of *Othello* perhaps evoked these lines:

Thou, in thy Skill extensive, has reveal'd
What from the wisest Mortals seem'd conceal'd;
The Human heart through ev'ry wile to trace,
And pluck the Vizard from the treach'rous face;
Make the vile wretch disclaim his dark designs,
And own Conviction from thy nervous lines.

Mr. Greene lauded the divine spark in Shakespeare's genius.

Ask, By what Magick are the wonders wrought?
Know, 'tis by Matchless word, from Matchless Thought!
A ray¹ Celestial, kindled in the Soul,
With Sentiments unerring fill'd the whole,
Hence, his Expressions with just Ardour glow'd,
While Nature all her Stores on him bestow'd.

The end of Rev. Joseph Greene's Prologue reminded Stratfordians of their town's place in the dramatist's life, and referred to the project for which the benefit performance was being given:

Here, his first infant-lays great Shakespeare sung!
Here, his last accents faulter'd on his tongue!
His Honours yet with future Times Shall grow,
Like Avon's Streams, enlarging as they flow!
Be there thy trophies, Bard, these might alone
Demand thy features on the Mimick Stone²,
But numberless perfections, still untold,
In ev'ry breast thy praises have enroll'd;
A richer Shrine, than if of Molten Gold!

In addition to speaking the Prologue, Mr. John Ward performed the part of Othello. Mr. and Mrs. Elrington played Iago and Desdemona, while Mrs. Ward was cast as Emilia. The comments on the playbill, apparently in Mr. Greene's handwriting, judged the ability of each of the ten principal actors and actresses. Beside the name of Mr. Woodward, who played the part of Brabantio, appears, "an elderly man. Some things well, others wretchedly." Mrs. Ward was jotted down as "a middle-ag'd Woman, a good actress." Mrs. Elrington, the ill-fated Desdemona, was described as "a 2nd wife, but young. a very agreeable actress."

Mrs. Erlington had to do double duty that evening. She and a Mrs. Wilson were likewise listed on the playbill as rendering "several Entertainments of SINGING between the ACTS." Romance must have been intriguing the players behind the scenes at that performance of *Othello*, for a handwritten comment on the playbill reveals, "Mrs. Wilson since married to Mr. Butcher." This Mr. Butcher played the part of Roderigo, and was "a young man" with his acting estimated as "low humour pretty well."

The triple performance of Prologue, *Othello*, and between-the-acts singing cost the spectators two shillings sixpence to sit in the Pit, and one shilling for a gallery seat. The Stratfordians must have responded generously to the playbill appeal to "such Persons as have a taste for the Inimitable Thoughts, the Sublime Expressions, the Natural and lively Descriptions and Characters of that Great Genius;" for "about 16 or 17 pounds were receiv'd from ye Spectators of ye play of *Othello*." The performance was considered successful in other ways, too. Mr. Greene wrote to his brother that the characters, except that of Brabantio, "were well personated, & the whole Conducted with much decorum, & its Consequence, Applause."

After much delay and dickering, the monumental bust of Shakespeare in Holy Trinity Church was restored. A paper written at Lilly at the Falcon and signed on December 10, 1748 (over two years after the benefit performance) by Mr. John Hall, Limner, by Mr. John Spur, who had custody of the money and seemed reluctant to sign, and by several witnesses for the borough and for the parish, promised to pay John Hall twelve pounds ten shillings for the work. By September 27, 1749, we know that the purpose of the special performance of *Othello* had been fulfilled, that the bust had been repaired and the coloring revived. On that date, Rev. Joseph Greene wrote to a Rev. Mr. John Sympton, "Care was taken, as nearly as cou'd be, not to add or to diminish what ye work consisted of, and appear'd to be when first erected."

Had it not been for the restoration of the monumental bust, and for the timely interest of Headmaster Joseph Greene of the Stratford Free School, we should not know that *Othello* was successfully performed in Stratford-upon-Avon a hundred and thirty

years after the death of William Shakespeare, that small town's "Great Genius."

A PROLOGUE

(N.B. Given before the performance of *Othello*, Sept. 9, 1746)

"To rouse y^e languid breast by Strokes of Art,
 When listless indolence had numb'd the heart;
 In Virtue's Cause, her drooping Sons t'engage,
 And with just Satire lash a vitious Age;
 For this, first *Attic Theatres were rear'd,
 Where Guilt's great foe in Sophocles appear'd:
 For this, the Roman Bards their Scenes display'd,
 And Vice in its Own Odious Garb array'd;
 Taught Men afflicted innocence to prize,
 And wrested tears from even Tyrants eyes.
 But,—*to great Nature to hold up the Glass;
 To Shew from her her Self what is, and was;
 To reason deeply, (as the Fates decree,)
 Whether 'tis best *to Be, or not to be;
 This, wond'rous SHAKESPEARE was reserv'd for thee!
 Thou, in thy Skill extensive, hast reveal'd
 What from the wisest Mortals seem'd Conceal'd;
 The Human heart through ev'ry wile to trace,
 And pluck the Vizard from the treach'rous face;
 Make the vile wretch disclaim his dark designs,
 And own Conviction from thy nervous lines;
 Reform the temper Surly rough and rude,
 And force the half-unwilling to be good:
 In Martial breast, new vigour to excite,
 And urge the ling'ring Warriour still to fight;
 Or,—if a State pacifick be his view,
 Inform'd by thee, just paths to dare pursue,
 And serve his Maker and his Neighbour too.
 Ask, By what Magick are the wonders wrought?
 Know, 'tis by Matchless word, from Matchless Thought!
 A *ray Celestial, kindled in the Soul,
 With Sentiments unerring filld the whole;
 Hence, his Expressions with just Ardour glow'd,
 While Nature all her Stores on him bestow'd.

*Attic or
Grecian

*See Hamlet's
directions to
y^e players

*See y^e fam'd
soliloquy/ in
Hamlet, beginning/
with those words

*Verse comes from
Heav'n, like in-
ward Light:/ Meer
human pains can
ne'er come by't,/
See Prior's
poems Vol I in
the/Epit to
Fleetwood Shep-
hard Esq;/

Hail, happy Stratford! envi'd be thy name!
 What City boasts, than thee, a greater fame?
 Here, his first infant-lays great Shakespeare sung!
 Here, his last accents falter'd on his tongue!
 His Honours yet with future Times Shall grow,
 Like Avon's Streams, enlarging as they flow!
 Be there thy trophies, Bard, these might alone
 Demand thy features on the Mimick *Stone,
 But numberless perfections, still untold,
 In ev'ry breast thy praises have enroll'd;
 A richer Shrine, than if of Molten Gold!"

*alluding to y^e
 Design in hand

¹"Verse comes from Heav'n, like inward Light;
 Meer human pains can ne'er come by't,

See Prior's poems Vol I in the
 Epit to Fleetwood Shephard Esq;"

[Note on MSS Prologue]

²"alluding to y^e Design in hand"

[Note on MSS Prologue]



SOME CLUES FOR *CORIOLANUS*

By SIDNEY SHANKER

OPINIONS as to Shakespeare's reasons for composing *Coriolanus* have differed as widely as the many aesthetic judgments of the play.¹ There are two suggestions: (1) that he wrote it to emulate the success of Chapman's two-part tragedy of 1608,² and (2) that the play reflects the immediate social and political struggle of Shakespeare's day. This paper attempts to clarify the second point: the sociological background of *Coriolanus*, through the specific issues, political and economic, raised in the play.

The last of the major "peasant" or country-side rebellions which mark the course of the sixteenth century occurred in 1607.³ In 1601 the great Elizabethan Poor Law was decreed, but several decades were to pass before the administrative lag caught up with the situation and before the advantages of relief as opposed to riots were realized by the gentry.⁴ As usual, high prices, shortages of corn, and enclosures were the direct causes of the 1607 riots. To add to the sufferings of the agrarian poor, the year that followed saw a drought and a consequent bad harvest.⁵ It should not strike us as peculiar then that a play written in 1608, even by the most objective of playwrights—and the term has been abused—reflects agrarian rebelliousness, suffering, and the miseries of a corn famine!

For the standard "objectivist" approach concerning Shakespeare's relationship to his economic milieu, I refer the reader to Frederick Tupper Jr.'s article, "The Shakesperean Mob."⁶ Tupper like all justly opposed to the purely subjective treatment of Shakes-

peare demonstrates the potency of literary tradition and convention upon the poet's depiction of the mob:

Indeed this paper is chiefly designed to show that the Shakespearean multitude has its genesis and justification not in any individual aloofness nor in personal tradition, but in the contemporary history and sentiment, in literary tradition, in the Elizabethan dramatic convention; and in the poet's resources, both English and classical . . .⁷

Tupper, however, like many scholars who conceive of social conditions from solely the literary point of view, fails to see that he reduces Shakespeare to an abstraction, to the sum total of his intellectual and cultural influences. Such an approach resembles the subjectivist one in that both, when carried to their logical conclusion, annihilate the concept the Shakespeare as a *man*, as a personality, as a being profoundly alive, who not only was acted upon by his times, but who was capable of *reacting* to them. That he was deeply influenced by the literary style and convention of his time, particularly in his early career, goes without saying. Yet he also brought much to his work based upon his own very deep and sensitive awareness of people and of their lives. A new approach to Shakespeare is necessary then to show that he was a *vital* force who created much of his drama out of his own *experience*.

Shakespeare, like any intelligent man (*sic*), could not help being acutely aware of the economic pressures surrounding him. He lived in an age of chaotic transition; the medieval ethos and economy was dissolving, falling to pieces beneath the surging advance of large-scale capitalist enterprise. There are the added facts that riots so serious occurred in his own Warwickshire—also in Northamptonshire—in 1607 that

A commission of inquiry was then sent through the disturbed districts. The report of the commissioners is in the Record Office, but it has never been published. A second proclamation of pardon to the rioters, issued March 30, 1608, seems to have closed the matter.⁸

For eight months then, during which time he was composing *Coriolanus*, grave grain riots were occurring in his home county. Can one dare tell us that the poet was uninterested in what was going on in the world about him? At the very least there were his own property

interests. But more than this, can we suggest he was the kind of human being to be totally unaffected by human suffering on so large a scale? Such an idea is to me totally indefensible.

To return to the background, we find in Cunningham that riots were raging in Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire. "Mr. Hubert Hall, who had examined the returns of the Commission in 1607 informs me that there were more recent and extreme cases of depopulation in Warwickshire than elsewhere."⁹ Warwickshire, in other words, was in the very raging center of this last, and one of the most serious, of peasant uprisings which were so frightening to the Tudor middle and upper classes. These facts may have nothing to do with the particular work, *Coriolanus*; but on the other hand they may have played a considerable part in shaping the play, in determining its approach to a basic socio-economic problem. At any rate the notion of Shakespeare as completely oblivious of his own time, unaware of his interest (and we have documentary proof from the law suits that he decidedly was not!) is surely an antiquated one.

While desiring to avoid the thorny problem of determining Shakespeare's own attitude toward social problems in general, and this one in particular, I cannot avoid some suggestions as to what may have been the poet's position. To begin with, his own attitude must needs have been an extremely complex and *contradictory* one. While himself a member of the landowning class, he had no sympathy with the newer agrarian program of enclosure and rack-renting. We know for a certainty that he opposed the enclosure of Welcombe, the high land overlooking his birthplace, Stratford-on-Avon. The truth was that Renaissance artists, such as Shakespeare, were caught in a tragic dilemma.¹⁰ They could not accept the new world of anarchic individualism and complete egoism coming into violent being; and yet they must have realized that the medieval world of their birthright was passing out of existence. Shakespeare's own social attitude, therefore, is no simple matter. It was a sorely complex one for him, as well as one profoundly tragic. The standard objective method of Tupper, which does not examine closely the contemporary economic background, has overlooked this vital area: for it is in the rich and complex interaction of the individual and society that art and drama arise. The answers, ultimately, to the problems of Shakes-

perean scholarship lie in disclosing to their innermost depths the realities of his time, social, political, economic, cultural, and yes, of the daily life as well.

It has long been apparent that the plebes in *Coriolanus* are "anachronistic"; they are Jacobean, not Roman.¹¹ Keeping the facts of the above in mind, let us now re-examine certain passages of the play which deal with the citizens. Act 1, sc. 1 takes on a far deeper and exciting significance when one is familiar with the long history of English peasant uprisings, and the events of 1607-08 in particular.¹² "Let us kill him [Coriolanus]," cries the First Citizen, "and we'll have corn at our own price." He continues, "The leanness that affects us,¹³ the object of our misery, is an inventory to particularize their abundance; our suffrance is a gain to them. Let us revenge this with our pikes ere we become rakes; for the gods know I speak this *in hunger for bread, not in thirst for revenge.*"¹⁴

Also, when the Second Citizen speaks he is clearly referring to contemporary England, attacking the privileged wealth of his day who "provide more piercing statutes daily, to chain up and restrain the poor."¹⁵ If *The Second Shepherd's Play* is accepted as a true and valuable picture of late fourteenth-century England, why cannot this be taken as a valid and important glimpse of lower class reaction to their social problems?

When the tactful and ingratiating Menelaus reports the plebeian disturbances to Coriolanus he speaks first of corn. "For corn at their own rates; whereof they say, / The city is well stor'd."¹⁶ In his angry reply, Coriolanus, too, makes mention of corn. The word is also in his last utterance of this opening scene. Indeed, without corn and its connotations to an audience in the drought year of 1608, for whom the scene was undoubtedly tense with immediacy (trust Shakespeare's theatrical sense), the first scene is hardly plausible. Needless to say, Shakespeare himself invented the scene.

The foregoing "clues" throw light upon the otherwise puzzling background of *Coriolanus*, and thus may suggest Shakespeare's complex incentives for writing the play which reverberates with the economic rumblings of his day.

University of North Carolina

¹George P. Baker, *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1916) has an apt summation of the aesthetic effect of the play as something "cold" (p. 289)

²*The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron* was entered on the Stationers' Register in June 5, 1608. Chapman was obsessed with the problem of a "modern" hero in a milieu of dying feudalism. Byron, Bussy, Clermont, Chabot, and Cato, the roll call of Chapman's heroes bears witness to his concern with the tragedy of a proud hero in an inimical environment. Chapman's editor has well summarized this aspect of the dramatist's work: "... the peculiar tragedy of Chapman is the conflict of the individual with his environment" (*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman* [London, 1910], 11, 598). Essentially, *Coriolanus* is a similar kind of study, that of a proud, unyielding, aristocratic individualist in an hostile environment. It may be countered that Chapman was imitating Shakespeare. Such a case is extremely unlikely as the basic outlook of Chapman was fully matured before 1608, indeed, Bussy, Chapman's archetypal hero, was created in 1603-4.

³R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1912), p. 332. As used in dealing with the period, the term peasant is so general as to be meaningless. By then peasants were free agrarian workers.

⁴E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge, 1900), *passim*.

⁵PMLA, XXVII (1912), 486-523.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 490.

⁷E. P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century as Reflected in Contemporary Literature* (Pub. of the Univ. of Pa., "Series in Philology, Literature and Archeology," Vol. IV, No. 2, 1895), pp. 94f.

⁸W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 1903), Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 102, n. 1.

⁹I am presently at work upon clarifying this basic concept of the age.

¹⁰To be fair to Tupper, I must report that he notes that Shakespeare's depiction of the mob is based upon Jacobean London, pp. 491-92.

¹¹Late in 1606 the Venetian ambassador to England attempted to buy corn for his country. He found it exceedingly hard to do so because of the shortages resulting from high prices and exports (Cal. S. P. Ven., Oct. 26, 1606). James, when asked to intercede, quickly replied that he had but a "limited authority" over the question; that "it belonged to the law, the constitution, the Parliament, which ought not to be contravened in a matter of such moment as the people's bread. He could not face the possibility of riots" (Cal. S. P. Ven., Dec. 7, 1606). Only fear of a popular uprising then could force James to rely upon the detested power of Parliament!

¹²Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 144. "In 1607 there had been serious disturbances in Northampton and elsewhere on account of enclosures. The harvest of 1608 was bad and the Council appears to have feared further disorder." People were known to die in the streets during bad years. Thus the account from Newcastle: "Sept. 1597 Paide for the charge of buringe 9 poore folkes who died for wante in the streets, for their grave making 3s." (p. 125). "Oct. 1597 Paid for the charge of buringe 16 poore folkes who died for wante in the streetes 6s. 8d." (*Ibid.*). A little earlier a Bristol chronicler noted with evident relief that cheap bread kept the poor "from starving or rising" (p. 123).

¹³My emphasis.

¹⁴The truth of this is plain to those who possess even the slightest acquaintance with the economic background of the period.

¹⁵Again one is amazed to see how truthfully and closely Shakespeare is mirroring actual conditions. The worldly and all-observing Venetian ambassador craftily notes that grain is being sold abroad for higher prices (Cal. S. P. Ven., Oct. 26, 1606).



SIMILARITIES BETWEEN FALSTAFF AND GLUTTONY IN MEDWALL'S *NATURE*

By J. WILSON McCUTCHAN

FALSTAFF has been many things to many men. In this article I am concerned with calling attention to similarities existing between Shakespeare's fat knight and Gluttony, who appears as a personified abstraction in Henry Medwall's *Nature*.¹ I do not intend to advance a new or different interpretation of Falstaff himself.

It is in the second part of *Nature* (E3-recto—I4-recto) that Gluttony is most active as a character, and it is here that he exhibits many of the traits of Falstaff, which I shall now review.

In *1 Henry IV* the audience is first introduced to Falstaff's character in the words of the Prince as he replies to Sir John's question about the time of day. Hal says:

Thou art so fat-witted with drinking of old sack, and unbuttoning thee after supper, and sleeping upon benches after noon, that thou hast forgotten to demand that truly which thou wouldest truly know. What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day?
(I, ii, 2-6)

In *Nature*, Gluttony, who has been left alone when Worldly Affection goes to eat, says:

Mary that ys a thyng
 Go whan thou wylt I wyl abyde
 My stomak he shall not rule or gyde
 That ys now fastyng
 Nay of all thyng erthly I hate to fast
 Four tymes a day I make repast
 Or thryse as I suppose
 And whan I am well fed
 Than get I me to a soft bed
 my body to repose
 There take I a nap or twayn
 Vp I go streyght and to yt agayn
 Though nature be not redy
 yet haue I some mete of delyte
 For to prouoke thappetyte
 And make the stomak gredy
 After all thys nedys I must
 Somtyme folow the wanton lust
 For hote drynkys and delycate refeccyon
 Causeth fleshely insurreccyon (*G-verso* - *G2-recto*)

Here is Gluttony, with a fine disregard for time, declaring his fondness for food and drink and confessing that he takes naps whenever his belly is filled. And, as Professor Shirley has properly noted,² the combination of gluttony and lechery in Falstaff is suggested in Gluttony's assertion that he sometimes follows "the wanton lust."

But this is not all. Some thirty-three lines before the passage just quoted from *Nature*. Worldly Affection and Gluttony are left on the stage together following a long discussion in which Man, Pride, Sloth, and Worldly Affection have participated. In the absence of specific stage directions. I think it likely that Gluttony, who has not spoken in the course of several pages, is snoozing on a chair, stool, or bench beside the fire.³ He is suddenly awakened by Worldly Affection who abruptly demands his seat by the fire. To clarify this dialogue I have supplied tentative punctuation and stage directions.

Worldly Affection. . . .

[*Rubbing his hands.*] For very cold myne handys do smart; It maketh me wo bygon.

[*Shouting at Gluttony.*] Get me a stole here! May ye not se?

[*More loudly.*] Or ellys a chayr! Wyll yt not be?
 [*Going to Gluttony and shaking him by the shoulder.*] Thou pyld
 knaue, I speke to the!
 How long shall I stande?

Gluttony. [*Drowsily, as if he is unaware that Man and Pride have gone and as if he is speaking to them. Or possibly addressing the audience.*] Let hym stand wyth a foule euyll!

.
 [*To Worldly Affection.*] Wyll ye se so? Euery dreuyll
 Now adayes. I warand,
 Must commaund as he were a kyng.
 [*To the audience.*] Let hym stande on hys fete wyth bredyng!
 (G-recto - G-verso)

If my interpretation of this scene is correct, we see here an excellent example of a replete Gluttony "sleeping upon benches" and happily oblivious to the passing of time and to what is taking place about him.

The second similarity between Falstaff and Gluttony is even more impressive than the one I have just mentioned. The essence of this comparison is that each, when he prepares for battle, provides himself with a bottle and speaks of it as a part of his military equipment. In *1 Henry IV* Hal and Falstaff are talking on the battlefield. The Prince asks Sir John to lend him his sword. Falstaff replies that Hal may have his pistol if he wants it, but not his sword. Hal takes it from the case and finds it to be a bottle of sack (V, iii, 50-57). The situation is echoed in *2 Henry IV* when Falstaff tells the Lord Chief Justice that if he brandishes anything but a bottle in battle he hopes that he may never spit white again (I, ii, 231-37).

In *Nature* Man inquires of the whereabouts of the remainder of his followers. At this point the stage direction reads:

Thē cometh ī Glotony wyth a chese & a botell.

And Wrath says,

Mary here cometh one.
 Good felyshyp me semeth yt shuld be (G4-recto)

Parenthetically the reader should know that Good Fellowship is Gluttony's assumed name or alias in the play (cf. D4-*recto*). It is almost superfluous to comment on how appropriately this alias would fit Sir John.

After greetings have been passed the following conversation ensues:

Man. Ye where ys thy harnes

gloto. Mary here may ye se
Here ys Harnes I now.

wrath. Why hast thou none other harnes but thys

gloto. What the deuyll harnes shuld I mys
wythout yt be a botell
Another botell I wyll go puruey
Lest that drynk be scarce in the way
Or happely none to sell (G4-*verso*)

Gluttony's fear that drink may be scarce in the way may also be compared with Falstaff's instructions to Bardolph to go before him into Coventry to fill a bottle of sack (1 *Henry IV*, IV, ii, 1-3). The similarity between Falstaff and Gluttony in these scenes requires no further elaboration.⁴

Still another point of correspondence between the two characters is seen in their desire to avoid active danger. On the field of Shrewsbury Falstaff exclaims, "God keep lead out of me!" (1 *Henry IV*, V, iii, 34-36). Equally vehement is Gluttony's determination to "stand out of dannger / Of gon shot /" (G4-*verso*).

As a final illustration of the similarity between Falstaff and Gluttony I cite the dialogue in which Gluttony fails to recognize Man because of his thin and emaciated condition,⁵ and suggests that they repair at once to the tavern where Man may remedy things by fast eating and drinking (G2-*verso*). It is scarcely necessary to compare Gluttony's obvious eagerness to conduct Man to the inn with Falstaff's fondness for the Boar's Head.

In summary, Falstaff and Gluttony resemble each other in the following points: (1) A fondness for food and drink followed by sleeping; (2) a disregard for the passing of time; (3) the habit of napping on chairs or benches; (4) carrying a bottle as a weapon in warfare; (5) a determination not to come within range of gunfire; (6) a proclivity to taverns with their promise of food and entertainment.

I do not insist that all of this proves Shakespeare to have been familiar with Medwall's *Nature*. Certainly the tradition of Gluttony and the obvious aspects of his appearance and character were familiar to Elizabethan playwrights and their audiences. At the same time it is wholly possible that Shakespeare was acquainted with the early play, for it was printed several years before he was born.⁶ Each student must decide for himself how far coincidence can be advanced to explain what seem to me to be striking similarities in characterization and in incident. Certainly Medwall's Gluttony is a most unusual example of a morality forerunner of Falstaff.

It is equally true, of course, that Falstaff is far more than Gluttony ever was. I am not urging the acceptance of a direct relationship between the two characters, but there seems to be a greater similarity between them than anyone has yet pointed out. I think that it is logical and safe to say that Gluttony in *Nature* represents as an abstraction much of the concept embodied by the concrete, flesh-and-blood Falstaff of the two parts of *Henry IV*.⁷

Queens College
(Charlotte, N. C.)

⁶Henry Medwall, *Nature*, ed. by John S. Farmer, Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1907. All citations are from this edition.

⁷John W. Shirley, "Falstaff, an Elizabethan Glutton," *PQ*, XVII, 276-77.

⁸That there was actually a fire on the stage is indicated in this passage and also in Man's previous indelicate remark about his inconstant wench (*F2-recto*).

⁹In 1778 George Steevens noted "the same comic circumstance" in this scene in *Nature and 1 Henry IV*, V, iii, 50-57, but he did not compare Falstaff with Gluttony. (Cf. William Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV*, in *The Plays*, etc., ed. by George Steevens, London, 1778, V, 415, note 2.)

⁸On at least one occasion Sir John derisively refers to Hal's leanness, although this was not the reason for his failure to recognize the Prince on Gadshill (cf. *1 Henry IV*, II, iv, 270-74)

⁹Farmer thinks that the play "was probably printed by John Rastell about 1516-20, . . ." (Introduction, p. v). Chambers thinks that it was printed by William Rastell in 1530-4 (cf. *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 443). In either event Shakespeare could easily have had access to it.

¹⁰This article has grown out of investigation made for a doctoral dissertation now nearing completion and to be presented to the Faculty of the University of Virginia. The title of the dissertation is *The Use and Development of Personified Abstractions as Characters in Elizabethan Drama*. In a later article, in process of composition, I hope to call attention to what seem to me to be further interesting similarities in characterization between Medwall and Shakespeare.



MACBETH'S "BABY OF A GIRL"

BY R. C. BALD

Macbeth, addressing Banquo's ghost on its second appearance in the banqueting scene (III. iv. 99-106), exclaims:

What man dare, I dare:
Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
The armed rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger,
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble: or be alive again,
And dare me to the desert with thy sword;
If trembling I inhabit then, protest me
The baby of a girl.

The early editors usually explained "the baby of a girl" as a doll, but more recent commentators have been inclined to follow the Clarendon editors' interpretation of the phrase as "the infant of a very young mother," and this interpretation has been endorsed by Onions in his *Shakespeare Glossary* and by Kittredge in his edition of the play. The latest editor, Dover Wilson, has, however, a different explanation; following the French edition of Darmsteter, he interprets the words as meaning "a baby girl," and compares the construction with the phrase "that scoundrel of a man." He adds: "'A girl's doll,' the usual gloss, has no relevance to timidity."

The word "baby," as the *O.E.D.* points out, is a pet-form of "babe;" it passed into familiar use, "while *babe* remained as the dignified word (e.g. in Scripture) and is now chiefly poetic." But, in the written language at least, until the beginning of the nineteenth century "babe" was probably more usual than "baby," and "baby" in the sense of doll is just as frequent as in the sense of in-

fant. It is easy to illustrate the less familiar sense of the word by examples additional to those cited in the Variorum edition and drawn from the century or so after Shakespeare's death. Donne, for instance, writes in one of his sermons:

We should wonder to see a mother in the midst of many sweet children, passing her time in making babies and puppets for her own delight . . . [yet] we all make babies, fancies of honour in our ambitions.¹

Addison, in the 500th *Spectator*, makes a polyphiloprogenitive correspondent assert:

I can sit in my Parlour with great Content, when I take a Review of half a Dozen of my little Boys mounting upon Hobby-Horses, and of as many little Girls tutoring their Babies . .

and Swift, describing Gulliver's early adventures in Brobdingnag, deliberately introduces the word to emphasize his hero's ridiculous plight:

My mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of forward parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against the night; .

The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on.²

After these passages, can anyone doubt that, even supposing Shakespeare to have intended something different, his audiences for at least a century and a half after *Macbeth* was written could scarcely help interpreting "the baby of a girl" as a doll? In certain contexts "baby" by itself could have been ambiguous, but "baby of a girl" would have admitted no such ambiguity.

Shakespeare's use of the definite article instead of the indefinite one seems to render Dover Wilson's explanation unacceptable, but his objection still remains. It is true that at first sight "the usual

gloss, 'a girl's doll,' has no relevance to timidity" (though it does imply a reference to helplessness). But already in *Macbeth* there are signs of the telescoping of thought and imagery so characteristic of the style of Shakespeare's last period. This particular phrase carries with it the visual image of a child fondling and in imagination soothing a small and helpless replica of herself. Macbeth's mind seems first to have seized on the rather conventional image of a child to suggest the weakness and cowardice of which he would be guilty were he to blench from meeting Banquo in combat. Then, in a flash, his mind shifts to another object (the doll) which, in point of size at least, bears the same relationship to the child as she bears to him. The resultant analogy may not be complete, but the effect of hyperbole achieved justifies its use.

Cornell University

¹*Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, ed John Hayward, p 579

²Pt 2, ch. 2.



BY ART AS WELL AS BY NATURE

S. BLAINE EWING

USING the rhetorical distinction between Art and Nature, which persisted as a favorite from Aristotle even to modern times, and playing on the sound of the words, Mercutio compliments Romeo on an exhibition of wit:

Now art thou sociable, now art thou Romeo; now art thou what thou art, by art as well as by nature."¹

Mercutio stands at the center of Elizabethan poetic tradition in thus finding the source of wit neither in native gift nor in ingenuity alone, but in both. For in this matter as in others, the Renaissance sought balance and the full development and harmonious use of all resources. Did not Sidney say that the poet "goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit"?²

There have always been critics enough to emphasize Shakespeare's ignorance of Art and his knowledge of Nature—his fortunate reliance on his gift; as long ago as Milton, one asked to be taken to the theatre

If Jonsons learned Sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespear fancies childe,
Warble his native Wood-notes wilde;³

but few critics in any era find so justly the Renaissance balance between the two, as Sister Miriam Joseph in *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*.⁴ In detail and at large the author makes an explication of the two hundred or more tropes and figures current in Elizabethan grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and quotes hundreds of

the passages in which they appear in Shakespeare's works. This is Shakespeare's Art. At the same time she makes assertion of the poet's gift, never better demonstrated than in the skill with which he chose and applied the tropes and figures. Repeatedly the author is impelled to such judgments as "Shakespeare used [the compound epithet] . . . with greater freedom than his fellow dramatists, and by means of it created language picturesque, sudden, and evocative. This figure [catachresis] . . . is in Shakespeare's hands a vital creative instrument with which he forges sudden concentrations of meaning, and secures the compression, energy, and intensity which characterize great poetry."⁵ Never is the reader allowed to imagine that a poet at work on a play thumbed his grammar-school copy of Joannes Susenbrotus's *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum*, and, questioning whether he should here use a *mesozeugma* or a *soraismus*, or, perhaps better than either, a *procatalepsis*, came out with a masterpiece. On the contrary one is led to feel, as the instances multiply, that a poet's conscious extensive use of tropes and figures which fit the categories is a sign not of the tyro but of the expert. Sister Miriam Joseph's arrangement does not allow treatment of the plays in chronological order, but it is evident that the progress from a play in which Shakespeare is obviously rhetorical, like *Love's Labour's Lost*, to one in which he is less, like *The Winter's Tale*, is not a decrease but actually an increase in the number of figures, and in the aptness with which they are used.

The author's stated purpose is "To show how Shakespeare used the whole body of logical-rhetorical knowledge of his time; . . . an investigation that aims, not at the discovery of specific sources . . . but at the reconstruction of the general theory of the time."⁶ This theory is not novel, but, having been generally neglected after the abandonment of classical method and content in school, it has the effect of novelty. Knowledge of it can be a strong corrective; for example, redeeming the pun, which ever since the eighteenth century has been considered a tasteless intruder at serious occasions—like a practical joker at a wedding: "To an Elizabethan the play upon words was not merely an elegance of style and a display of wit; it was also a means of emphasis and an instrument of persuasion. An argument might be conducted from step to step—and in the pamphleteers it often is—by a series of puns. The genius of the language encouraged them."⁷

The book has three main parts: I. a general statement and history of the Renaissance theory of composition; II. the tropes and figures illustrated in Shakespeare's works; III. the tropes and figures defined by English writers of the Renaissance. Part I divides the writers into three classes: the Traditionalists, who treat of the subjects usually to be found under Logic and Rhetoric, but are indifferent about these labels; the Ramists, who are especially careful to assign the label Logic and to deny the label Rhetoric to some of the most important parts of the process of composition; and the Figurists, who approach the subject from the point of view of form rather than of content. By showing then that all three groups can be reconciled on their basic Aristotelianism, and that all their subdivisions can be arranged under one or the other of Aristotle's Means of Persuasion (Logos, Pathos, and Ethos), the author achieves a new organization of Renaissance rhetoric under these headings, which the partisans of the time might have been too name-loving to accept. The reader must master this section before reading Part II, else he will be unaware of the novelty and effectiveness of the organization.

Part II is the one which gives the book its title and which readers of this journal will find most interesting. Here, with a rhetorician's thoroughness, Sister Miriam Joseph classifies and labels many a famous passage. Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be," is a *disjunctive proposition*;⁸ Romeo's greeting to the dawn ("jocund day Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops") is *chronographia*;⁹ Portia's granting that Shylock has the right of the law in order to entrap him is *concessio*;¹⁰ Othello's demanding the handkerchief is *epimone*.¹¹ But Sister Miriam Joseph is no Holofernes. Though this explication may invite a smile at its seeming pedantry, it cannot disenchant a line, except for those whose eyes see the label and are by it rendered unable to perceive any further. For in fact the figures are part of Shakespeare's *ars poetica*, indispensable to an understanding of the nature and purposes of his poetry. "Poets who took so much trouble to follow Art would not wish this Art to be ignored in the reading and would expect their listeners . . . to respond with aural and mental agility."¹²

Moreover the concept of the figures often itself becomes an ingredient in the thought of the play, and the explication in this

book then casts new light—even on a character's thinking and motivation. Thus—"a disjunctive syllogism has for its major premise a disjunctive proposition expressing alternatives, one of which the minor premise affirms or denies, while the conclusion in consequence affirms or denies the other."¹³ Now the King-at-Prayer scene in *Hamlet*¹⁴ employs a pair of such syllogisms in sequence, and a fallacy. The results are crucial: the King confronts his conscience with the fearful disjunction: he is either saved or damned; if he is truly penitent, he is saved; but he cannot be penitent and still be possessed of the crown, of his ambition, and of the queen, which he is unwilling to forego; therefore he is damned. At this point Hamlet enters; he presents himself the disjunction: either he can gain revenge upon the King by killing him now, or he cannot; if Hamlet sends the King to death like Hamlet's father

Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled,
No reckoning made, but sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head,¹⁵

he gains revenge; but the King is at his prayers, hence "fit and season'd for his passage"; therefore Hamlet cannot gain revenge by killing him now. Hamlet's minor premise, unfortunately for him, is a fallacy, but an inevitable one since he entered after the King had reached his negative conclusion.

Thus does an explication of the figures in this scene highlight the thinking of the characters and reveal the full dramatic irony of the situation: the King is so good a logician that he cannot deceive himself and betray his own soul, though his action does accidentally deceive Hamlet and thus for the time confirm the preservation of the King's life from death and damnation. Hamlet is so good a logician that he proceeds relentlessly on the best premises available (false) to their inevitable conclusion (false). This is Hamlet, vigorous in the exercise of his university training (like Shakespeare of his grammar-school training), not Hamlet "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."¹⁶

Part III is distinguished in offering a convenient new "hand-book" of English Renaissance doctrines on the art of composition, using the organization just described.

Sister Miriam Joseph's study belongs to several traditions, but especially to that of Shakespeare's learning. It follows logically after T. W. Baldwin's *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*¹⁷ as an expanded treatment of one aspect of the discipline which is there revealed—Upper School Rhetorical Training.¹⁸ Logical studies to follow would be investigations, on the pattern of this book, into the practice of other poets, or, as Sister Miriam Joseph suggests,¹⁹ investigation of Shakespeare's use of any or all of the features of Renaissance rhetoric-logic, using every occurrence in the plays rather than examples only. This has been done heretofore only partially, and with great overemphasis on one art of language: verse-form. In addition, the results may prove to be means for making more certain the answers to some questions of authorship.²⁰

Each chapter of the book concludes with stirring summary paragraphs, and Part II with a general summary of the effects of Shakespeare's use of grammar, rhetoric, and logic.²¹ The Index is notable for its assemblage of figures of speech—an accurate key to Shakespeare's use of them and to the authoritative doctrine as propounded by rhetoricians of his time. If this list could be improved upon, it would be by the addition of a *table* of the figures, schematical as they appear in the body of the book rather than alphabetical, to furnish a quick prospectus and review of the whole subject.

Errors are few, but some occur where they should have been excluded with the utmost care. For example, in the Index under "Shakespeare, citations from the works of,"²² the reference to *The Rape of Lucrece* on page 112 is omitted, and *Richard II* 116 should read 117. Something appears to have gone wrong with the headlines on pages 81 and 307.

Tucker Brooke concluded his review of Baldwin's *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* with the warning, "This exegesis will hereafter be ignored by teachers at their peril."²³ Without trying to give our little Senate such dire laws, one can justly say of *Shakespeare's Use*

of the Arts of Language: This explication makes an interesting and substantial contribution to the appreciation of Shakespeare.

Lehigh University

¹*Romeo and Juliet*, II, iv, 93-95.

²*Defense of Poesy*, edited by Albert S. Cook, Boston, 1890, p. 7

³*The Student's Milton*, edited by Frank A. Patterson, New York, 1933, p. 25.

⁴New York, Columbia University Press, 1947.

⁵*Op. cit.*, pp. 124, 146.

⁶*Ib.*, p. 13.

⁷*Ib.*, p. 165. Quoted from Frank P. Wilson, "Shakespeare and the Diction of Common Life," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXVII (1941), p. 14. Cf. Johnson, "A quibble is the golden apple for which [Shakespeare] will always turn aside from his career or stoop from his elevation. A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight that he was content to purchase it by the sacrifice of reason, propriety, and truth." "Preface to Shakespeare," *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, London, 1823, X, 149.

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁹*Ib.*, p. 129

¹⁰*Ib.*, p. 216

¹¹*Ib.*, p. 220.

¹²*Ib.*, p. 48. Quoted from George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, edited by Gladys D. Willcock and Alice Walker, Cambridge, 1936, p. lxxv.

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 186.

¹⁴*Hamlet*, III, iii

¹⁵*Ib.*, I, v, 76-79.

¹⁶*Ib.*, III, i, 85

¹⁷Urbana, 1944

¹⁸II, pp. 1-238.

¹⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 287.

²⁰*Ib.*, pp. 86-87, 133 n. 14.

²¹*Ib.*, pp. 286-289.

²²*Ib.*, p. 421.

²³*Modern Language Notes*, LX (1945), p. 126.



QUARTERLY REVIEWS

RICHARD FLATTER, *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*

(New York, W. W. Norton. \$3.00. viii—184 pp).

BY GILES E. DAWSON

IN ADDITION to being poet and philosopher, Shakespeare was also, and first of all, a professional playwright. He wrote Elizabethan plays for Elizabethan actors and Elizabethan spectators. This aspect of Shakespeare was too often forgotten by his eighteenth-century editors and critics, who were prone to make of him an eighteenth-century poet for eighteenth-century readers. The romantic criticism of the next century was too apt to concentrate on the poet and thinker and to overlook the fundamentally dramatic nature of the form in which the poet chose to cast his thoughts.

We are still plagued by this one-sided and incomplete view of Shakespeare. But in recent years Granville-Barker and others have led a vigorous reaction from these errors to a saner criticism, so that now fewer and fewer of the professors who teach Shakespeare and of the scholars who write books about him are in danger of forgetting the actor and the spectator whom the poet himself never forgot. Dr. Flatter's book is an important contribution to this basic dramatic view of Shakespeare's stageplays. Himself a poet, he wisely prepared for his great work of producing a new translation of Shakespeare into German by devoting two years to the study of stagecraft under Max Reinhardt. "A translator of Shakespeare," he writes, "cannot allow himself not to be in touch with the living stage." Through this training and through the actual work of translating, as well as through a study of English texts and German translations, Dr. Flatter has arrived at a principle. If I understand this

principle it is something like this: Shakespeare, an excellent actor, was steeped in practical stagecraft, which he understood thoroughly. This knowledge caused him, and enabled him, when he was writing, to have constantly before his eyes the actor who would speak his words. He was able to see his lines in action, visualizing every gesture and hearing every pause and inflection. As he put his lines on paper he employed a system of signs and symbols—a system not practised by other dramatists—which later conveyed to the real stage manager and the real actor his directions for speaking the lines and performing the actions. These signs and symbols, consisting of metrically incomplete lines and other metrical irregularities, of broken speeches, of punctuation, and even of spelling, were of course understood by the actors. Their importance was understood also by Jaggard, who may have been instructed by Heminges and Condell, and who accordingly preserved them carefully in the First Folio. Therefore if we are to understand Shakespeare's lines fully we too must understand and observe all these pointers as we find them in the Folio. It is to the significance of these pregnant symbols that the title of the book, *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*, refers.

A considerable part of the book—in my opinion the most stimulating—Dr. Flatter devotes to the meaning of the metrical irregularities which are of frequent occurrence in the mature plays. In his early period Shakespeare was somewhat fettered by devotion to verse regularity. But freeing himself from this restraint, he began, about the turn of the century, to exercise a bolder spirit, his metres acquiring greater richness of variety and greater subtlety of effect. He no longer hesitated to introduce metrically incomplete lines and other striking irregularities in his verse. His first printers, particularly Jaggard, printed such lines as they found them. But in the hands of Pope and the other editors of the eighteenth century, whose ears were attuned to Augustan rhythms, the metrical irregularities were smoothed over and erased from the text. They were put down to the carelessness and incompetence of the early printers, and the editors allowed themselves a free hand to reform what was amiss in order that they might restore Shakespeare's text to the correctness which it deserved. And even now, after two centuries of advance in the concept of an editor's duties, our standard texts still bear the heavy impress of the Augustan correctors.

And our Duties are to your Throne, and State,
Children, and Seruants; which doe but what they should,
By doing euery thing safe toward your Loue
And Honor.

King. Welcome hither:
I haue begun to plant thee, and will labour
To make thee full of growing . . .¹

Editors from Theobald to Dover Wilson (including Furness) rearrange these lines in a variety of ways to eliminate the truncated line "And Honor. Welcome hither."

But Shakespeare wrote the line, we may suppose, as it stands in the Folio—and for a reason. He intended a pause after "hither:" during which Duncan steps forward toward Macbeth, or clasps his hand, or, as Dr. Flatter prefers to think, embraces him, just as he unquestionably embraces Banquo a moment later. Whatever reason we may assign for such a pause, Dr. Flatter's book provides abundant and convincing evidence that at least a great many such metrical breaks are not the result of accident or corruption but were intentional and for some definite reason. They ought, of course, if this belief is correct, to be restored in our modern texts.

This is not new doctrine. Granville-Barker preached it, and it has recently been set forth most persuasively by Professor G. B. Harrison in "A Note on *Coriolanus*."² But it is a doctrine which needs further emphasis, which ought to be brought home to every editor, professor, and student of Shakespeare. Dr. Flatter develops it further than has been done heretofore, and with great eloquence. He demonstrates many sorts of metrical irregularity employed by Shakespeare in a great variety of ways and for many purposes.

In much of his book, however, Dr. Flatter is on less secure ground. His chapter on punctuation, for example, is filled with illustrations of the pitfalls prepared for the entrapment of the textual critic insufficiently grounded in the bibliographical approach of the Greg-McKerrow school. The chapter shows too the special dangers likely to beset the actor-producer when he turns editor. The text of Shakespeare is not fully equipped with directions for acting—indications of every gesture, pause, movement, or vocal inflection.

The actor must supply these as he thinks best or as tradition may suggest; and his hand is free, for therein lies his art. But textual criticism is another matter. Here is little scope for aesthetic judgment or the exercise of personal preference—for that way Pope and Hanmer lie. Dr. Flatter's treatment of punctuation abounds in examples of unrestrained reliance upon his own feelings as to what Shakespeare meant. On *Hamlet*, I, ii, 86,

These, but the Trappings, and the Suites of woe.⁸

his comment is that "The comma after 'These' has the same function as a questionmark: '[As to] these [garments]? [They are] but the trappings and the suits of woe.'"⁴ What of the comma after "Trappings"? Are we at liberty to ignore this as mere heavy Elizabethan punctuation? or does it too have some special signification? Then there is what Dr. Flatter likes to call "the raised-finger type" of comma (p. 145). "Sometimes such a comma may indicate a raised finger; often, however, it may merely imply a short pause, a raised eyebrow, a twinkle of the eye, a poking in the rib, etc." He produces a number of examples, of which one is 2 *Henry IV*, Induc., 15-6:

Rumour, is a Pipe

Blowne by Surmises, Ielousies, Coniectures;

where the comma after "*Rumour*" is of the "raised-finger type." Colons too have their special message: "the colon often seems to have no other purpose than to indicate a gesture"—often, not always, for we may also distinguish "logical" colons (p. 146). In the knocking scene, *Macbeth*, II, iii, Dr. Flatter finds five colons, of which two are, he says, of the logical type and three "hardly more than indications of a gesture." In *Twelfth Night*, III, iv, 38-9, a prose passage,

Malvo. At your request:

Yes Nightingales answer Dawes

he holds "that the colon stands for a gesture, and apparently for a rather elaborate one: Malvolio looks Maria up and down contemptuously before, turning his back on her, he finished her off with the devastating remark that he, a nightingale, could never answer a

ridiculous daw." O eloquent colon! Does it really say that? or is Flatter the actor doing what any actor has a right to do—reading into the line his own interpretation?

In all this concept of the functions of Shakespeare's punctuation a fundamental weakness is apparent. Dr. Flatter does not know how much of the punctuation of the First Folio is Shakespeare's own and how much is the compositor's. No one knows, and Dr. Flatter gives no indication that he has given the problem much thought. Without facing this problem squarely no profitable study of the Folio punctuation is possible. The fact is that such studies of Shakespeare's punctuation as have been attempted have proved of limited value simply because there has not yet been found a satisfactory answer to the question of whose punctuation we have in early printed texts. We still await—and badly need—a thorough-going examination of Elizabethan punctuation as a whole. A common and reasonable assumption is that a compositor found it easier to follow his copy than to attempt any reformation of his own. And yet, in what we might call the small tools of writing—spelling, capital letters, abbreviations, punctuation—writers of the Elizabethan age were notoriously (though in varying degrees) careless and unsystematic. To them, words were ideas and sounds, not ordered series of characters. But printinghouse compositors spent their working lives handling these smaller units: their attention was perforce drawn to them, and they tended to form habits and standards of practice. So it was, as it is still, the printers rather than the writers who led the steady but slow march toward standardization of spelling and punctuation. No one who has done much reading of Elizabethan manuscripts can have failed to notice the vast difference between written spelling and punctuation and printed. Judged by our present-day standards, Elizabethan compositors were neither very systematic nor very careful, but they were more so than most writers were. Unfortunately we have virtually no examples of manuscript which served as printer's copy, by which we can test the faithfulness of any particular compositor in following any particular copy. For Shakespeare we have no such examples. But we do have *Sir Thomas More*, and as long as scholars continue to view Addition D of this manuscript as almost certainly the handwriting and composition of Shakespeare we cannot ignore the evidence which it affords. For what the punctuation of these few lines is worth as evidence on Shakespeare's habits

of punctuation during at least one period of his life, it bears absolutely no relationship to that of the First Folio. Indeed it comes about as close as possible to being no punctuation at all. In the 250 lines of Hand D⁵ I find that commas average something like one to every three lines; of period I find some half dozen, of semicolons a like number, and of colons none. Four of the periods occur at the ends of lines, all the other line-ends being entirely without punctuation. If this is Shakespeare's punctuation, then that of the Folio can hardly be.

What seems to me to be another serious flaw in Dr. Flatter's reasoning underlies not only his discussion of punctuation but much of the whole doctrine that Shakespeare used a definite system of internal pointers to indicate for the actor the pauses, gestures, and actions by which the written word was to come alive on the stage. Obviously, many of the commas and many of the colons, whether inserted by Shakespeare as he wrote or years later by the compositor, would fall naturally where any competent actor would make a pause or a gesture. This is inherent in any system of punctuation, but more especially in the Elizabethan system, much of which is rhetorical rather than logical. What I cannot grant is that either the punctuation or the metrical irregularities can be regarded as forming a kind of code by which the poet instructed the actor. Unless every colon indicates a pause (which of course Dr. Flatter does not believe), how was the actor to know what colons meant what?

In the chapter on "Simultaneousness" Dr. Flatter carries his theory of a system of signals for the actor to unreasonable lengths. He prints (p. 60) *Othello*, II, iii, 162-76, "as a modern writer might have written them":

Iag.: The town will rise. Fie—fie, lieutenant,
 You'll be ashamed for ever—hold! —ho—!
 Lieutenant, Sir Montano, gentlemen—
 Have you forgot all place of sense and duty?
 Hold!—The general speaks to you—hold—for shame—

Mon.: [simultaneous with Iago:]
 I bleed still—I am hurt to th' death—he dies!

Oth.: [who, with attendants, has entered after: "You'll be asham'd for ever", shouting simultaneously with Iago and Montano:]

What is the matter here: Hold! for your lives!
 Why—how now—ho! From whence ariseth this?
 Are we turn'd Turks? and to ourselves do that
 Which heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?
 For Christian shame, put by this barbarous brawl!
 He that stirs next, to carve for his own rage,
 Holds his soul light: he dies upon his motion!
 [Here he has outdone the other; there is silence,
 except for the bell.]
 Silence that dreadful bell; it frights the isle
 From her propriety. What is the matter, masters?

After setting forth a not very convincing argument in support of the simultaneousness of parts of these speeches, he continues:

The simultaneousness is also borne out by the fact that in both Iago's and Othello's speeches the versification is not broken off by the other's (or Montano's) lines. As shown above, Iago's words:

You'll be asham'd for ever—hold—ho

(if only "hold" is held out long enough) and Othello's:

What is the matter here? Hold, for your lives!

form the usual iambics. The interruption of versification, as it appears in print, is one to the eye only. Yet it seems to be clear why Shakespeare breaks the lines: dividing them he uses the two parts as though they were brackets. Thus he indicates what he wishes his characters to do: speak simultaneously. As it is not his wont to give stage-directions it is difficult to see how else he could have expressed his intention. In a highly ingenious way he makes line-division serve as stage-direction.

He was not content to write the speeches one after the other and to tell the actors afterwards: "Here you will shout together"; but so vividly did he see and hear all the details of the uproar while inventing it that he put down the different voices in a way not dissimilar to that of a composer who writes the score of a trio.

This is beyond belief. Not that Shakespeare may not have thought of these lines as being spoken in a sort of general hubbub, for there is unquestionable evidence, some of it presented by Dr. Flatter, that Elizabethan dramatists did make use of this device. But it is surely too much to expect of an actor that he should see these obscure brackets and know what they meant. Perhaps—though it appears otherwise to me—simultaneousness in the acting of this passage is good stagecraft, but if Shakespeare intended it he need not have used means of such uncertain effectiveness to tell the actors what he wanted. He *could* have written a stage-direction or two. Or it may be that he did “tell the actors afterwards: ‘Here you will shout together.’” My own opinion is that Shakespeare well knew the capabilities of the company among whom he had himself learnt his stagecraft and that he trusted them to understand their business and to act the lines as they ought to be acted.

If I have dwelt more on the weakness of Dr. Flatter's book than on its abundant strength, it is because I think it a book that will be read and ought to be read, though with a certain degree of caution. It embodies a penetrating grasp of the fundamental nature of Shakespeare's plays as living drama and contains for all students a message which they need to hear again and again. Nowhere is this message better expressed than in the four chapters on *Macbeth*, especially the first, Chapter VIII, on “the bleeding sergeant,” in which he disposes of much error and presents a most sane and satisfying analysis. Any student who neglects to read the book will be cutting himself off from a source of enjoyment and of enrichment of his view of Shakespeare.

The Folger Shakespeare Library

¹*Macbeth*, I, iv, 24 ff. I quote from the First Folio. Flatter purports to do so (p. 34) but preserves only the Folio line arrangement (which is what here concerns him), modernizing spelling, capital letters, and punctuation. Elsewhere (e.g., in quoting from *Lear*, p. 78), following no discernible principle, he retains Folio spelling, capitals, and punctuation.

²*Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, 1948), pp. 239-52.

³As usual Flatter modernizes spelling and capitalization, but here not, of course, punctuation. Since he does not use Globe line numbers, it is regrettable that he nowhere tells what text he does use.

⁴He adds “All editors omit that comma.” Rowe and Theobald print not only *that* comma but *those* commas, and Furness prints the first one.

⁵I rely here upon Greg's Malone Society transcript.

THE SYMBOLIC PERSONS IN THE MASQUES OF BEN JONSON

by Allan H. Gilbert, Duke University Press, 1948.

xi-297 pp. 71 plates.

BY HENRY W. WELLS

THIS volume offers a descriptive list alphabetically arranged of "allegorical, mythological, and historical persons who appear in Ben Jonson's masques and entertainments." The descriptions are, as far as they go, very accurate and the list is comprehensive. A useful bibliography is appended of works accessible to Jonson and especially valuable to him in creating his allegorical figures. Of somewhat less value for the student today is another list of scholarly writings since 1637, the year of Jonson's death, dealing with the same subject. The illustrations with which the book ends supply a livelier commentary than is possible in words. They are, of course, drawn from works contemporary with the English dramatist. The author shows prudent judgment in taking his figures largely from black and white prints, thereby keeping reasonably close to the originals. His most frequent sources are Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, and Vincenzo Cartari's *Le Imagini dei dei degli antichi*, Venice, 1571. The black and white pictures may suggest, however, that among possible omissions in the text are some of Jonson's uses of color symbolism, the field so interestingly treated in Miss. Linthicum's volume on Elizabethan costume. Musical symbolism is also a matter of interest, concerning which this book offers scant materials. Perhaps there is a little too much stress on plain black and white after all.

The list forming the body of the book is preceded by a brief and somewhat perfunctory introduction, stressing the literary and didactic spirit of Jonson's contribution to the masks as opposed to the aesthetic and decorative contribution by Inigo Jones. This view is indeed obviously sound. Professor Gilbert is of the opinion that Jonson's learning is not materially greater than Chapman's or Heywood's. The judgment regarding Chapman proves at once convincing; that regarding Heywood is, to say the least, more interesting.

Since the author doubtless regards his work as primarily a reference book, he may well be excused or even commended for not including a serious critical study based upon his researches. Yet one naturally asks where one goes from here? Many questions will arise in the reader's mind concerning the character and worth of this allegorical imagery, the relation of the images in Jonson's masks to other masks, to his own plays, to Edmund Spenser, and to the literature, art and culture of the times. There is the historical problem of the development of imagery in Jacobean masks from that in the earlier Tudor pageants. Larger psychological and aesthetic problems, often concerning the interrelations of the arts, also project themselves into the picture. Regarding almost all these matters Professor Gilbert preserves a considered silence. They are therefore materials for other books. But this work stands, in any case, firmly upon its own accomplishment as a singularly well compiled reference book in the field of Renaissance iconography, limited by its focus upon the masks of Ben Jonson but within that province alone covering a considerable area.

Columbia University Dramatic Museum



NOTES AND COMMENT

Othello, popular at Stratford in 1746 as Miss Mann reveals, was the outstanding triumph at the Memorial theatre in 1948 with Godfrey Tearle in the lead, "whose voice, presence, temperament, all proclaimed the kingly quality of Othello, his nobility, authority, integrity of mind and emotion." Diana Wynyard's Desdemona was a fit mate for Tearle's Othello, portraying a frank and joyous quality to match the courage of the girl who could make her own choice and back it unflinchingly to the end. Anthony Quayle, Director of the Stratford Players, has announced a revival of the 1948 *Othello* with the same leads. He himself played the part of Iago as it should be played, a coarse-grained jealous soldier, rather than as a sneaking, mischievous Mephistopheles.

A production of *Othello* by Constantine Stanislavsky, the famous founder and director of the Moscow Art Theatre is well described in the study *Stanislavsky Produces "Othello"* (Geoffrey Press, 21). "His insistence on the fact that Othello and Desdemona are a newly married pair should be unnecessary, but far too many actors and critics appear to forget that the whole tragedy involves the emotions and behaviour inevitable in a bride and groom, but improbable in a long established relationship. He also makes the valuable, but often neglected, point that it is Iago, not Othello, who is the jealous one, and shows, too, that Iago's malignant envy is not baseless." Othello is one, as he himself says in vindication, "not easily jealous," but goaded into jealousy by Iago's insinuations, "perplexed in the extreme." There are few more piteous spectacles in Shakespeare than Othello's: "O fool, fool, fool" when he tears himself to pieces in recognition of his credulous folly.

Valuable histories of the theatre are appearing. Ruth Ellis has written a survey of seventy years of drama at Stratford-on-Avon in her *The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre*, (Winchester, 15s). W. Macqueen-Pope has told the story of the *Haymarket* from 1720-1947, (W. H. Allen, 17s6d). This venerable and beloved theatre inscribes on its roll of managers Theophilus Cibber, Foote, the Colmans, D. E. Morris, Benjamin Webster, Buckstone, the Bancrofts, Beerbohm Tree, the Harrison-Maude regime, and the Watsons. Among talented actors, who have also played at Stratford, are Helen Faucit, Barry Sullivan, Henry Compton, William Creswick, Ellen, Marion and Fred Terry, Julia Neilson, Phyllis Neilson-Terry, Henry Ainley, Lilian Braithwaite, Ben Greet, Beerbohm Tree, H. B. Irving, and Godfrey Tearle. A history of the Old Vic is promised in the future by the same publisher, Clarence Winchester.

We have also received from the Winchester Press two beautiful volumes: *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, profusely and dramatically illustrated by J. Junge-Bateman—both priced at 30s net.

Mary Violet Cowan, age 43, a former cleaner at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Library, endeavored to sell to a London firm a first quarto *Pericles*, worth £2,000, a *Merchant of Venice* valued at £2,000, *Praise of Owls*, £250, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, £150, which she had purloined from the collection. Her letter accompanying the registered parcel of *Pericles* stated that she wished to get "the best possible price for it." This hopeful endeavor reminds us of the fatuous attempt of three thieves who stole the First Folio of Shakespeare from the Chapin Library at Williamstown, and found to their consternation and sorrow that they were unable to dispose of it without apprehension by the police, which duly followed, with the return of the Folio to the Library. There is more to rare book theft than becoming aware of rare titles. There is the nearly impossible hurdle of provenance, or the alteration of the book to erase all traces of identification—a dubious and dangerous feat with rare quartos and folios. (R.M.S.)

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN



Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach

An Aspect of Shakesperean Study

Staging Elizabethan Plays

Bradleyan Reprise: On the
Fool in Twelfth Night

Published by The Shakespeare Association of America, Incorporated,
at The Lehigh University in Bethlehem,
Pennsylvania

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ARTHUR A HOUGHTON, JR., WHO WAS APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA BY ITS DIRECTORS AT A SPECIAL MEETING ON OCTOBER 17, 1949. (SEE PAGE 246).



DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH, RETIRING PRESIDENT OF THE SHAKESPEARE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, WHO HAS BEEN NAMED HONORARY
PRESIDENT BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.



DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH

IN HIS letter printed in this issue Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, because of illness, tenders his resignation as president of the Shakespeare Association of America. Dr. Rosenbach became president of this society at a special meeting of the Board of Directors on April 28, 1934 succeeding the late Dr. Ashley Horace Thorndike of Columbia University.

Dr. Rosenbach's deep interest in the whole range of English literature, and particularly the Elizabethan period, fitted him for this leadership. From his youth, he brilliantly identified himself with Shakespearean culture. His first publication on the subject was "The Influence of Spanish Literature in Elizabethan and Stuart Drama", which was presented in June 1901 to the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania for his degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

It was soon after this that he succeeded his late uncle in the rare book business. His career has been meteoric and unmatched in the history of collecting and selling rare books and manuscripts. Today his collection of Shakespeare quartos is the only great collection remaining in private ownership and his set of Folios in original bindings is very nearly matchless.

Through the years he has been a guiding genius in the formation of many of the famous private collections and associated in the growth of the foremost public libraries in America. His knowledge and influence were of great service to Henry C. Folger in forming the Folger Shakespeare Library, which today is the richest and most inclusive library in the world. His purchases of the celebrated collections of Shakespeare and Shakespeareana, formed by Marsden J. Perry, Lord Holford, The Earl of Caledon, Lord Aldenham, William A. White, and Sir Israel Gollancz, have found their way into distinguished collections of America and brought the heritage of Shakespeare close to the American people. To these may be added the

names of Beverly Chew, Henry E. Huntington, Robert Hoe and Eldridge Johnson, and Joseph and Harry Widener.

For more than fifteen years, Dr. Rosenbach has repeatedly given his time, energy, and financial assistance to our Association; and the new President and Directors are looking forward to drawing upon his expert advice as scholar, collector, and bibliophile during the years to come.

ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR. BECOMES NEW PRESIDENT OF THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

In Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. a vigorous new leader has been found. While a student at Harvard University, he started the formation of one of the finest collections of rare books ever assembled in this country, which includes superb copies of the four Folios of Shakespeare and of his Poems (1640). He is the donor of the Houghton Library to Harvard and has given to it his great collection of books and manuscripts of John Keats. He has served as Curator of Rare Books of the Library of Congress and is at present, among his many other activities, a member of the Advisory Committee of the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Advisory Counsel of the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Library Committee of the New York Public Library and the Counsel of the Grolier Club in New York City. As President of Steuben Glass, Inc. and a director of Corning Glass Co., he is one of the business leaders of the country. His sincere interest in the progress of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc. augurs well for its future.



AN ASPECT OF SHAKESPEAREAN STUDY

By HARDIN CRAIG

THE historical method or point of view in the study of the past is very ancient and has always been used by the greatest historians, scholars, and fiction writers. It may be described as the interpretation of past ages in their own terms rather than ours. The historical point of view has no doubt been sharpened and rendered more conscious by critics of historical methodology in recent times, and it has sometimes operated as a stimulus, if not a shock. About the beginning of the present century a group of Shakespearean critics, headed by Professor E. E. Stoll in the United States and by Professor L. L. Schücking in Germany, accused Shakespeare critics of the sin of anachronism and proved their point. The proponents of the nineteenth-century critical tradition offered defenses and claimed the liberty of interpretation, which, with some increase in responsibility to fact, they continue to enjoy. Book-reviewers, general readers, and the most popular authors of books on Shakespeare never learned about this conflict of scholars and continued and still continue on their anachronistic way. They often think of Shakespeare as if he had lived yesterday. Because of the breadth of his humanity and the catholicity of his interests Shakespeare suffers surprisingly little from this kind of interpretation, and the offense of anachronism in his case may be described as venial. The stage, following the ideal of what is called "good theater," has adhered, as a whole, very firmly to tradition, and it is the rare exception rather than the rule for any stage-director to attempt to interpret Shakespeare according to Shakespeare's own manifest meanings and intentions. The late Harley Granville-Barker and some other men of the theatre have taken the trouble to learn the truth about Shakespeare and have brought liberal scholarship into the theater. It is interesting to observe that their efforts have met with success with the public, a fact which seems to show that Shakespeare's own meaning is not only richer but more interesting than any other meaning which may be suggested by his plays. Whatever may be the state of the general public and the stage with reference to the interpretation of Shakespeare,

it is certain that most learned interpreters of Shakespeare in this age are careful to avoid anachronism and usually devote themselves assiduously to the task said to have been described by the late Professor G. L. Kittredge as "finding out what Shakespeare said and what he meant when he said it."

The historical method has been applied mainly in a negative way to the interpretation of Shakespeare. I should like to inquire in this paper if it is not possible to apply it in a somewhat more positive way.

Beginning with Bacon and Descartes in the seventeenth century a new philosophy made its appearance in the modern world. Its most characteristic feature was an absolute distinction between mind and matter, and this philosophy gave rise gradually to what is known as the scientific method. It led into the age of reason, but it was essentially a revolt against rationalism. In the end it gave little enough room for what had long been known as the realm of the spirit, which, cut away from the natural world, was, so to speak, left to get along as best it could with its traditional and sometimes out-worked devices. The progress of the new philosophy was slow, and, as many of us know, large parts of our literate public and their children are completely ignorant of the processes of scientific thinking. Many important persons, Dr. Johnson for example, have rejected Cartesianism in toto. They have preferred and still prefer the more natural and more rational procedures of the pre-Cartesian ages. Nevertheless, as time has gone on, the scientific method and the philosophy which underlies it have spread themselves throughout the world of the intellect and have become the only acceptable method in the search for truth. They have made their way into the realm of plans and procedures, transformed the system of our education, affected deeply the relation between man and man. Science has done this mainly by its epistemology, that is, its grounds of knowledge with reference to the validity of knowledge. The scientific age, following Descartes, admits only two bases of knowledge and conviction of truth in the human mind, namely, conclusions derived from the examination of the data of the senses and the truth of mathematics. The modern practical world, going far further than any true scientist ever went, has more and more come to a point where it admits no ascertainable truth except on these two bases. Even Kantian idealism, which played so important a part in the earlier history of modern thought, has lost its scientific standing with reference to truth and

its ascertainment. Admitting that this current epistemology is a very bad one for theologians, moralists, parents of families, and students of literature and the arts, we might nevertheless say that it would make less difference to human happiness and welfare if the limitations of the scientific philosophy had not at last affected the rank and file of our educated population and large parts of the half-educated, or imperfectly educated, classes of society. It seems to manifest itself in a growing materialism and in a greater and greater deafness to some of the most important truths so far discovered about human living.

Shakespeare and his contemporaries lived in a pre-Cartesian world, that is, a world which had in it little uncertainty as to the nature of things and little idea as to the importance of research into fundamental principles. Descartes began with universal doubt, and it is the presence of doubt that chiefly distinguishes our world from that of Shakespeare. Descartes discarded tradition (or doubted its truth), and he and his followers have subjected all factual, tangible, moral, religious, and intellectual ideas and beliefs to scientific investigation, a thing to which there is no objection, provided the things in question are scientifically investigable. Science has made, however, only a partial conquest of the world, partly because many people have continued to accept tradition and authority and, partly, because there seem to be some regions into which science cannot enter or can enter only in an incomplete and unconvincing way. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the scientific method and attitude have deeply affected all the life of the mind. The pre-Cartesian world is thus in some measure a lost world to modern learned culture. Yet it is a world which it is necessary for us to enter if we wish to understand the Elizabethans. Fragments of this world, even quite large fragments, are continually being found by scholars, but integration is lacking and they seem usually to remain fragments. The spirit and temper, the essence, of that world before the age of reason and science apparently make themselves known only to a few wise, patient, and imaginative scholars and critics. The difficult quest for the spirit of Shakespeare and his age goes on with varying success, and some intellectuals are perhaps the dupes of literature as well as science. Clearly, if we wish to escape into a pre-Cartesian world, we must not, although we carry our present with us, make over that past into the likeness of our present. We are tempted to do this very thing by the circumstance that human nature, although

affected and no doubt in some measure controlled by the characteristics and consequential ideas of each particular time, is proverbially always the same.*

There are, as I said, certain regions of the greatest importance to mankind which seem not to yield to the investigations of science; indeed, in the nature of things to be such that they can never yield to those methods. This is not antagonistic to science and its epistemology; it merely points out the limits of the field of scientific investigability. Those of us who believe that there is ascertainable truth in non-material fields are not willing to have this kind of knowledge classified as conjecture and cast into the limbo of uncertainty simply on the ground that it is not subject to controlled experimentation. We deny the statement of those who say, "The trouble with metaphysics is that there are no metaphysics." It is clear in the light of this that we need a new epistemology, one that will give some place and some philosophic standing to search for truth in other fields besides the scientific. Let me make my meaning clear by an illustration. Let us imagine ourselves at the center of a globe of environment all parts of which concern us and continually affect us; also that only the surface of this globe can be weighed and measured. That surface we will suppose is the field of natural science. In the center of this globe is the individual with his personal qualities and his racial inheritance, his needs, his instincts, his affections, his morals (particularly as they pertain to his duty to himself), his intellect, and his religion. Into it enter the personal part of his relations to family, neighborhood and clan. The social sciences, which are in some measure investigable by scientific methods, we shall for convenience place in the intermediate region of our imaginary globe, but we will not forget that the interests of the individual, which we have placed in the center of this imaginary globe, quicken and constantly spread outward into the field of the social sciences and carry with them the scientifically unpredictable qualities of the individual man. My point is that this center of individual life is our world, or a very large part of it. It is where we spend our time. It is the ground of our happiness or our misery, and science cannot tell us a great deal about it, even inferentially.

The Elizabethans thought they knew all about this inmost region, and they did know a great deal which we have forgotten or

*This paragraph and a few parts of what follows are taken over from my paper, "Trend of Shakespeare Scholarship," *Shakespeare Survey* 2 (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 107-14.

are, for one reason or another, unable to accept. They derived what they regarded as unquestionable truth from many sources which we do not or cannot accept as unquestionable—from authority, from revelation, from conceptions derived from an accepted order of the universe and an accepted theory of human nature. However ill-founded the epistemology of the men of the Renaissance was, the fact remains that it was a far broader basis for the acceptance of truth than that of the current world. It follows that, if we could find a broader epistemology, we should, simply because of that breadth, be better able to understand the Elizabethans sympathetically than we now do. Lacking such a parallel basis for the acceptance of truth, we can only make allowance for them and do our best, for the sake of mental clarity, to excuse the errors and superstitions of Shakespeare and his age.

But we need not hasten to surrender our claims. It happens that Shakespeare is possibly the greatest master and certainly one of the greatest authorities in what we have called the innermost field. He is culturally almost indispensable to us, and yet his world is not scientifically investigable throughout its area. It is only partially so, but it is an important part. The systematic study of Shakespeare has yielded much, and there is much more to be done. We still need the order and the caution of the scientific method in the study of Shakespeare. For example, modern scholarship continually falls into the trap which Bacon describes when he says that the fact that the parts of a given system agree with each other is no proof that the system as a whole is in accordance with truth. Given a theory and a determination to prove it, a scholar by hunting widely for fact and opinion which agree with his hypothesis and by ignoring those cases which are non-committal or which disagree with it may prove almost anything that is to his satisfaction. A cypher weighted ever so slightly on the side of higher frequency in favor of a conclusion desired may unearth wonders and prove impossibilities. In practice this is one of the chief things which scholars need to guard against. It is certainly true that in Elizabethan scholarship Cartesian intuitions continually entrap us. They are aided in that result by those persons who deny probability to all hypotheses except their own. But we cannot, as children of this age, reject the scientific method in the study of Shakespeare, nor is it desirable that we should. We must continue to build our building solidly and in accordance with the dictates of truth and reason and, at the same time, endeavor to ad-

just our method more and more fittingly to the real nature of our task. Scientific technique in Elizabethan scholarship, although it has proved its indispensability over and over again, is not and perhaps can never be entirely adequate to the task of interpretation, mainly because it is too limited in its scope.

If scholarship as now practiced is to some degree inadequate as it approaches the region where Shakespeare's greatness lies, and not of Shakespeare's greatness only but that of all the Elizabethans and of John Milton, we might inquire further into the matter. We know a great deal more about the Elizabethans than we once did. Our ideas as to their environment, their activities, and even their personal character are far saner and more adequate than they used to be. We understand Elizabethan art and its aims much better than it was once understood, and, although erroneous opinions still flourish and ignorance is rife, we have no cause for discouragement. Our underlying idea of our function as scholars, although seldom expressed, is sound. We have the idea that we as scholars will open the way, remove all obstacles to understanding, and let the Elizabethans speak for themselves both on the stage and in the study. We believe that their voices are potent. But the question is, can we get still closer to the center of their being? We do not need to demonstrate anything, since it is a matter of insight rather than of change. The operation is pre-Cartesian and is nothing less than seeing as the Elizabethans saw and feeling as they felt. My first suggestion is one of catholicity and hospitality of mind to all learning, for the present trend of education is a narrowing process which renders us less and less able to see the world of Queen Elizabeth. The intense specialization of the scientific method is unnecessary, and in the field of literary interpretation is a mistake in and for itself.

Three hundred years of science, the latter part of which is technological and materialistic, have raised a barrier between us and Shakespeare and his age, a barrier which has to be crossed again and again by every student who would know and understand them. In considering how that barrier may be crossed I have just suggested that universality of knowledge and catholicity of mind offer a practical and ready pathway. Shakespeare and his contemporaries, with all their faults, offer us some freedom from the shackles with which we have bound ourselves. That freedom lies in the first instance, I suggest, in the assumption of a more catholic point of view and a more inclusive and broader mind, particularly on the part of schol-

ars, and in a refusal to over-specialize. Scholars are sometimes more shut away from Shakespeare than are ordinary people. To ordinary people Shakespeare continues in some measure to speak directly. They have greater difficulties in understanding what Shakespeare says than scholars do, but their inclination is to take immediately to their hearts what they do understand. Vulgar errors about Shakespeare are numerous and almost ineradicable, and yet much true Shakespeare lives on in the popular mind. There is still an open road, not a very straight or easy one, to the pre-Cartesian world of Shakespeare through the minds and hearts of simple people. From this fact we may derive a suggestion. The suggestion is that scholars might be more concerned than they are with finding out and making manifest what Shakespeare really means. Whatever interesting things may be read into Shakespeare, Shakespeare's own meaning is the greatest of all meanings and is the one our world most needs. We do not have to choose between the untrammelled errors of impressionistic criticism and the close prison of purely objective research. Elizabethans were not so disposed as we are to let themselves be the playthings of a hypothetical determinism. It is easy and sometimes amusing to designate the faults of the Elizabethans, but this one can say, they were the children of God and they knew it.

If we grant that Shakespeare and his contemporaries did their thinking in a pre-Cartesian world, it is incumbent upon us to ask how people thought in such a world. We should reply that the prevailing, perhaps the only, organized method of thought, was still mediaeval. The great philosophical system known as scholasticism lasted in Europe from the ninth century until the seventeenth, and popularly long afterwards. It was a very ample system, and a large part of the Christian world still finds it abundant for their needs. We think of it as prevailingly Aristotelian and Thomist, yet it produced age after age proponents of mysticism and intuitionism, and we know that the Renaissance, particularly, was strongly influenced by Plato and the Neo-Platonists. We know also that rationalism was firmly entrenched in schools, universities, courts of law, and the church. The liberalizing mediaeval warfare between intuitionism and rationalism was by no means forgotten.

It is easy to enumerate the principles of this system. It had its own epistemology, metaphysics, natural theology, moral and social philosophy, logic, aesthetics, and forensics—all recognizable in the thought of the Renaissance and of Shakespeare. We know that the

doctrine of the harmonious relation between reason and revelation was firmly held; indeed, that there was a harmony throughout the whole range and scope of law. Richard Hooker shows us that. The Renaissance had its own doctrine of personality, society, the state, and the universe. All were arranged in a completely harmonious system in accordance with what was believed to be the will of God, so that disobedience was the root of sin. Is this vast manifestation of order in every part of the universe merely a speculation? Or may it be accepted as a credible symbol of truth?

The problem of understanding the scholasticism of the Renaissance is not the problem of the Neo-Scholastics of whom we have heard so much recently in this country. Such scholasticism as had entered into or still remained by inheritance within the Renaissance mind was the original thing and is needed for the interpretation of the age; whereas our Neo-Scholastics are engaged in an attempt to incorporate our new knowledge of the physical world with an older conception of a unified, God-ruled, and God-created universe. They would make a revision of the work of St. Thomas Aquinas.

When we bring what I have said about the fundamentals of Renaissance thought down to earth, what do we find? We find (1) an epistemology which derived truth not only from the senses but also from revelation and authority. We find (2) a metaphysics which was naive and very largely a matter of degree; the invisible was merely something too attenuated to be seen. Under hyperaesthesia, such as might appear in illness or on the approach of death, or under conditions of melancholic frenzy, or because of some pressure within the spiritual essence itself, the spiritual might emerge into the region of sight or tangibility. In the Renaissance there was no conception of spiritual essence as such. Such metaphysics made it possible to construct on the basis of superstition, tradition, and analogy a world of ranked, assigned, and organized spiritual beings. There was also in the Renaissance (3) a valid and widely held natural theology, a function of the coordinated plan of microcosm and macrocosm. From this point of view the storm in *King Lear*, and indeed the whole play, take on a new significance. Some work has been done in this field, but not enough. The Renaissance had also (4) a moral system, well understood and potent, which swung in a fairly narrow arc between the Scriptures, on the one hand, and the ethical and political teachings of Plato and Aristotle on the other. It stressed obedience to law in all spheres. Empiricism in ethics in

so far as it might attempt to discover new principles or test out old ones was, so far as I know, utterly unknown and would have been completely and dangerously heretical. The logic of the Renaissance (5) was formalized and pretentious. It may be said to have lost its moorings when it turned its back on the *Analytics* of Aristotle and adopted an attenuated form of the *Topics* as its basis. Logic was married to disputation, and the union was unhappy, but let no student imagine that he can understand Shakespeare completely if he is not logically conscious and if he does not know that Shakespeare was trained in disputational methods. In aesthetics (6) the men of the Renaissance were not seriously deficient in spite of their insistence on the doctrine that the function of art was to teach through the giving of pleasure. This doctrine did not greatly hamper Sidney or Spenser or Shakespeare or Milton.

With reference to (7) the Renaissance doctrine of human personality one might say that it is an unworked field which seems to have two aspects. One of these is the doctrine of the ideal man, usually a prince. This doctrine appears again and again in the greatest of Renaissance writings: in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Shakespeare's histories. It is formally exemplified in the figure of Henry V, it is basal in the conception of Hamlet, and there is hardly one of Shakespeare's major heroes who does not illustrate in success or failure the ancient figure of the well-rounded, well-bred, and well-balanced character, the one in whom the elements were so mixed that Nature might stand up and say, "This was a man." Over against this princely figure is the mediaeval conception of the equality of all men before God, which we might think of in terms of Langland's "Field full of Folk." It is true that God had ordained that men in the world should exist in ranks and classes and that all men were expected to discharge their duties in the sphere to which God had assigned them. Nothing sounds to the modern ear less democratic than this, and yet men of whatever rank and class were still men, gifted with brains and character and entitled to claim their share in the salvation offered all men by the Saviour. Their equality made itself manifest in the Dance of Death and the Pilgrimage of Human Life, but it was not limited to them. Essential manhood was in every created human character. The nameless First Servant in *King Lear* is as great a hero as can be found in the plays of Shakespeare. This was the democracy of the Middle Ages, and Shakespeare believed in it. It explains the humanity of

his minor characters, and rounds out and completes his picture of men in the world.

There is no issue of vagueness on their side and concreteness on ours. The Elizabethans were curious, observant and sharply accurate. No scientist who ever lived has observed more closely the world in which he lived than did William Shakespeare or has sought more honestly and intelligently to discover and reveal the truth about it than he did. We must not believe that science has any monopoly on the discovery of truth. What we need is an epistemology on a soundly philosophical basis which will make room for the Shakespearean sort of truth as well as for the scientific kind.

There is at this time in the philosophic world a ray of hope. I do not consider myself competent to discuss it, but I should like to bring it to your attention. There is promise of a new epistemology in the philosophy which underlies symbolic logic. It may be that we shall find there a breadth and catholicity with reference to the nature of truth, a breadth analogous to that enjoyed by the Renaissance and at the same time one with a sounder relation to the laws of thought. George Boole, Augustus De Morgan, A. N. Whitehead, Bertrand Russell and others, guided by the fact that mathematical truth is independent of physical phenomena, have brought forward a new epistemology, a new method for the comprehension of truth. The basis for this is, roughly speaking, the doctrine of the symbol. The question posed was this: if the philosopher of modern science admits, not only the truth of scientific demonstration, but also that of mathematics which rests on symbols, why may not the truth of symbolization be accepted in other fields besides that of mathematics?

There has been much study of symbolism and imagery in Shakespeare in our time, but none of it has been very authoritative perhaps because it has lacked a sound basis in philosophy. It has made two characteristic mistakes, both of which might conceivably be remedied. It has failed to recognize that much imagery in Shakespeare and other Renaissance writers was common property, often borrowed from the ancients, and trained into Renaissance writers while they were in school in pursuance of the prevailing theory and practice of imitation. It has also insisted on finding "patterns" and "image-clusters" in Shakespeare which are merely evidences of literary skill. Such interpreters often have lacked knowledge of the English language and its origin and variety, and of the symbolic nature of language. If a critic of *King Lear* is at pains to point out patterns of sight

and blindness, shelter and exposure, and the errors and misfortunes of old age, as well as the animal in man, is it not true that these are very common subjects in life as well as in the play, and that Shakespeare could do nothing else but use for his purposes the richness of the English language based on the experience of the English race to the remotest times? Shakespeare has mainly done that, probably without conscious symbolic intention, and done it supremely well. It would be well if those scholars who devote themselves to imagery would learn more about the nature and significance of symbols. There is, however, no doubt that a beginning has been made on the symbolic basis and I think that the fundamental idea is both sound and promising for literary study. The field is vast and promises great returns. Words are not the only symbols in use in literature, drama, and life. Some of the profounder meanings are never expressed in words.

The approach to Renaissance study I have outlined is thus in two stages. Scholars may, as great scholars have always done, so saturate themselves in the age that they will come into a higher degree of understanding and sympathy with the Renaissance, and realize not only the breadth and sufficiency of Renaissance thought as applied to the living of human life, but the valiancy of its spirit and its appreciation of beauty, since they have rendered themselves consonant with the philosophy of the age. In the study of Shakespeare they might rid themselves of our too narrow conception of human character and our restrictive habit of regarding Shakespeare's plots as typical and specific instead of general and exemplary. They may thus come to see and feel a more pervasive unity in *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Coriolanus* and in some measure cease to regard these plays as problems and even be willing to admit a human consistency within inconsistency in such characters as Falstaff and Hamlet.

Secondly, by means of a broadened epistemology, we might learn to discriminate among truth and arrive at a stronger and more assured grasp of truth itself within the bounds of Shakespeare and his age and a keener determination of values. We might even ask why there should be in our age so wide a chasm between mythical truth and scientific truth. There was no such gap in the thought of the pre-Cartesian world. Perhaps this gap might be bridged for us as it was for the men of that time (a new bridge of course); and, if it were, we might move as freely and as assuredly in our world as the Elizabethans did in theirs.



STAGING ELIZABETHAN PLAYS

BY GEORGE F. REYNOLDS

DURING the last fifty years we have gained a far more favourable opinion of Shakespeare as a theatrical craftsman, and, for this, research into Elizabethan stage conditions can, I think, fairly claim some credit. In 1900 most people who considered the matter at all thought Shakespeare a curiously naive and awkward playwright. He failed by the prevailing standards of realism. But we have come to see that Shakespeare's dramatic technique was no naive and inadequate approximation to our own—indeed, in many ways it is we who are trying to return to his practice. His stage, we have learned, was no furniture makeshift, but a highly developed instrument with its own quite different purpose and ideal: and we appreciate that Shakespeare knew how to use it with great effect—perhaps not so spectacularly as, say, Fletcher, but with a fine adequacy for his own ends.

At the turn of the century the situation was quite different. William Poel was then stoutly upholding the validity of Shakespeare's methods, but in general, ideas of realism pretty well dominated all theatrical practice. Public appreciation had passed beyond its ecstatic thrills of the 'sixties, at Robertson's doors that clicked and windows that really opened and shut, to demanding more convincing—and troublesome—fittings: solid wooden wainscoting for oaken libraries, clocks, one after another, chiming the hour, in the same house, massive real trees, not merely the properties necessary for the action, but everything that could conceivably be present. For a stage with such ideals, Shakespeare's plays offered immense opportunities certainly, but also immense difficulties. To use elaborately realistic settings for every scene of Shakespeare's many-scened plays was obviously impossible. Some scenes had to be omitted, some could be combined with others, though such rearrangement might obscure the plot or wreck the dramatic rhythm. Yet even with all these adaptations it

often seemed necessary for the curtain to be down for scene changes as long as it was up for scene presentation; the emotional intensity was thus broken into a series of disconnected incidents. Obviously Shakespeare appeared not to know his job in the eyes of producers using such methods: as for the neat skill of a Pinero, who told his story in a limited number of sections of about equal length, with a clever use of furnishings to convey necessary information and to create a convincing atmosphere, the Elizabethan apparently lacked it completely.

So much for the theatrical attitude. Scholarship was little better. In 1900 the Germans, forced by the publication in 1888 of the contemporary picture of the Swan Theatre to accept the projecting stage, were still intent on hanging on it a front curtain, for how could there be, they argued, any stage without such a curtain? And finally, when that incredulity was overcome, there lingered—and still does in some quarters—the related idea that sizeable properties could not possibly be displayed on an uncurtained space.

Some students of Shakespeare escaped these questions by treating the plays as merely something to be read, and if forced to imagine how they were presented, talked vaguely of the Elizabethan stage as 'naked', untrammelled by properties or scenery, an idea still promulgated in some older textbooks and books of reference. But for such an idea there was no excuse at all, as the plays themselves make abundantly clear, and the papers of Philip Henslow, known to scholars for decades, establish beyond a doubt. He was the financial backer of the Lord Admiral's company at the Rose Theatre, and in 1598 drew up an inventory of the properties stored there, which mentions, among others, a rock, a tomb, hell-mouth, a cage and an altar, and his *Diary* records expenditure for a throne.

Those who are interested in a detailed account of the changes in our ideas about Elizabethan stage conditions in the last fifty years will find an excellent summary in Professor Allardyce Nicoll's article in *Shakespeare, a Survey*, 1948, and a fine short statement of the conventions of his stage, as we now understand them, in Granville-Barker's introduction to the *Prefaces*. Here I shall make only a brief general statement, with precise application to two points.

The distinctive features of the Elizabethan public theatre, the theatre for which Shakespeare wrote most of his plays, were, first, an

unroofed yard into which projected a platform stage, open on three sides. The fourth side was the facade of the tiring-house, but spectators on occasion were admitted even to it: 'central staging,' enjoying a vogue today, is scarcely as modern as some would suggest. On the stage level in this facade were usually a curtained space and always three doors leading 'within'. On the second gallery level was a curtained balcony; on the level of the third balcony was probably another opening, sometimes used by the music, above which projected a roof protecting the stage below; and topping all was a hut-like structure hardly visible from the yard but concealing the means for raising and lowering properties and actors when circumstances required.

There were also, as I have mentioned, separate structures to be reckoned with—tombs, shops, tents, a throne, an arbour, placed sometimes in the curtained space, sometimes on the front stage. Whether the imagined scene was before city walls or in a bedroom, in a forest or on a ship, or in some cases simultaneously in two or more places at once, always visible were at least two of the doors, the balcony above, and usually the curtain at the back. Thus there was no possibility of a realistic whole stage background. This stage arose from a quite different idea—that of the medieval performances, for example, of the stationary scripture plays in which Nazareth, Bethlehem, Herod's palace, the Sea of Galilee, Hell's Mouth and Paradise were all side by side within a few steps of each other. More immediate predecessors were the street shows and tableaux. The imagined location of any scene on such a stage was indicated by the properties it made use of, and many scenes were not precisely located at all. Our different modern system makes it difficult for us to imagine the conventions and implications of such a staging. Something, perhaps, we can learn from the films: for they, with a similar freedom of background, have developed in this respect a technique similar to the Elizabethan.

CASE FOR THE SHORT SCENE

Two illustrations, both of points for which Shakespeare has been adversely criticised in the past, show that he should perhaps rather have been praised. One point at which Shakespeare has appeared to be especially awkward is the large number of short scenes he sometimes employs at various stages in his story. If these scenes are given at all on our modern stage they never rise to much dramatic intensity because a black-out or a falling curtain usually checks it before it can start. Even when we read such sequences to ourselves the successive

titles following fast on one another. Scene 5, 'Another part of the forest'; Scene 6, 'Another part of the forest'; Scene 7, 'Another part of the forest' and so on, are emotionally discouraging and imaginatively deadening. Critics have pretty generally condemned these short scenes, sometimes suggesting that they are only sketches for scenes not fully developed. Yet are not some of these sequences comparable to similar sequences in the films, which are praised as illustrations of artistic skill in montage? And should not Shakespeare be praised also? On his stage, too, scene could follow scene without pause or slackening of effect; before one group of actors was gone, another, even if perhaps supposed in a different place, could appear. Thus in his plays too there could be a building up of intensity from scene to scene, just as in the films; similar contrasts, similar juxtapositions—and this three centuries ago, before montage, so-called, was dreamed of.

Consider for example the last seven scenes of 'Troilus and Cressida'—seven scenes: but the number 'seven' is purely formal, for there are actually some twenty dramatic paragraphs—so to speak—in 252 lines. Each section, taken separately, seems a mere scrap of dialogue which might warrant the judgment that it had been composed hurriedly, and not worked out fully. But taken as a whole, these short dramatic paragraphs have a quite different effect. There is first Thersites' cynical forecasting of the two lines of interest, Troilus' contest with Diomedes for Cressida's sleeve, and Ajax' and Achilles' egotistic coyness about fighting. Then, as an obvious showing up of himself, is Thersites' cowardice before Hector. Successive passages show Troilus' taking on of both Ajax and Diomedes, Achilles' dastardly murder of Hector, Troilus' lament for Hector, his scorn of Pandarus and finally his going out to revenge himself on the Greeks, leaving Pandarus to mock the world in general. Instead of a series of disconnected undeveloped scenes, is there not here a pattern, much more unified and more subtly constructed than my brief summary can show? Many such sequences of short scenes will be found to be not merely chronological series of independently created scenes, but a unit planned for cumulative effect.

Our tradition of realism on the stage has long made impossible the use of such sequences. Consequently we have only recently been permitted to see them for what they are, and to recognise Shakespeare's skill in divising them. For this recognition we have to thank the knowledge, provided by recent scholarship, of the way the scenes

were originally presented—and also, I suggest, the example of the films which have revealed the artistic possibilities of such 'montage'.

THE UNCHANGING BACKGROUND

But scholarship has emphasised something else about the Elizabethan stage and Shakespeare's use of it which the films do not illustrate, except, so to speak, in reverse. The projecting stage on which, it has been shown, most of the action occurred, the practically unchanging background, emphasised the actors and offered little or no competition with the lines. Dr. George Kernodle in his *From Art to Theatre* has emphasised that the theatre with the carved pillars and painted walls which provoked the Puritan clergy to protest at extravagance provided a festive background, in no way a poverty-stricken one, and this is true enough. But the background was a standardised one and stayed in the background. There was spectacle too on the Elizabethan stage, more it would appear at the Red Bull than at the Globe, but even at the Red Bull in a play full of devils and fire and what not, it was the poet whom Dekker depended upon to 'call the banished auditor home, and tye his eare (with golden chaines) to his melody'.

The lyric passages of Shakespeare have sometimes been considered as undramatic embroidery, yet even to our modern poetically deaf ears 'Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow', 'Our revels now are ended', 'Look how the floor of heaven is thick inlaid with patens of bright gold'—these passages and others like them are really more dramatically effective than some of the moments of action, and often make anticlimaxes of succeeding scenes.

Sir Laurence Olivier was no doubt wise for our generation in moving about from one background to another during the delivery of his long speeches in 'Henry V', but certainly the speeches themselves received a more wavering attention. The competition with poetry on the stage itself of varying painted scenes has come in since Shakespeare's day, and has been blamed by Dr. Gordon Bottomley for our present insensitivity to the spoken word. Other causes are also to be recognised—for instance the shift in emphasis in education from oral reading to rapid silent reading. But, be that as it may, research into the conditions of the Elizabethan stage has, in fact, helped to show how admirably its form and practice were suited to poetic speech.

SHAKESPEARE'S TECHNICAL SKILL

Study of the Elizabethan stage then has demonstrated that Shakespeare and some of his colleagues did know their business as technical playwrights. They showed their skill in other ways too than those I have mentioned, for example in indicating quickly and clearly the imagined location of their scenes when it really mattered, in changing that location neatly when that change mattered, in making clear lapses of time with no falling curtain to help them, in keeping their complicated plots moving and distinct, in giving their actors scenes of contrasted emotion—and so on and so on.

Many performances today, by reducing interruptions to a minimum, show that study of the Elizabethan stage has had some effect on actual performance, and suggest that the full dramatic power of Elizabethan plays may best be demonstrated by still closer observance (not necessarily or even desirably with antiquarian fidelity, but in spirit and principle) of its original practice. It may even be shown that the theatre's unique appeal—in contrast to films and television—lies precisely where the Elizabethans most effectively employed it, in the personal presence of the actor and his speaking of moving language.*

Boulder, Colorado

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BRADLEYAN REPRISÉ: ON THE FOOL IN *TWELFTH NIGHT*

By E. J. WEST

SOME twenty years ago, when I was a novice in the business of play production, I had on a small western campus an eccentric colleague who grandiloquently and extravagantly hatched glorious projects for himself—and others. One day out of the blue he demanded peremptorily and without preface that I give up teaching, get a company of actors, and produce all of Shakespeare's plays, acting the clown or fool or chief comic part in each, that I might eventually compose a monograph on "The Fools of Shakespeare, by One who has been Them." Somewhat overcome by the magnificence of the idea, although scarcely flattered by the apparent assumption of my possessing at once consummate acting ability, Protean size, and a mastermind (albeit a "natural" one), I considered the source of the suggestion, thanked him courteously, and reflected that Harley Granville-Barker had somewhere remarked, "Nowadays we no longer put them in livery." Or, to quote a still earlier Shakespearean: "Well, God give them wisdom that have it; and those that are fools, let them use their talents."

The courtier Curio rather belatedly assigns a name to this earlier Shakespearean (Act II, scene 4, to be exact): "Feste the jester, my lord, a fool that the Lady Olivia's father took much delight in." Although I have a vague memory of having in the dim past of high school English once played in the famous cellar-scene in a classroom reading, I did not myself learn to take proper delight in Feste until, some time following my fantastic colleague's preposterous proposal, while working on a production of *Twelfth Night*, I discovered myself as actor constantly complaining during rehearsals that as director I had cast myself as Sir Toby rather than as him whom "the Lady Olivia's father took much delight in." (An unwise complaint, since like Charles I have no ear.) Although the production was

successful enough to achieve a request repetition, I reluctantly repeated my casting, a respectable Toby not appearing and my original Feste, possessed of a lovely singing voice, still being available. So the playing of Feste joined permanently, with the writing of the suggested monstrous monograph, the list of unachievable ambitions. . . . "But that's all one."

This much personal preamble merely to intimate that, like many of my elders and betters, I have fallen inescapable prey to the peculiar fascination of the character of the Fool in *Twelfth Night*. One recalls that even the temperate and usually self-contained Kittredge allowed himself to speculate: "Somehow, one thinks that poor Yorick must have resembled Feste—the merriest of Shakespeare's fools."¹ While I doubt that "merriest" quite seems to me to account fully for his charm, with A. C. Bradley I must confess that of all Shakespeare's fools Feste "has always lain nearest to my heart," and that "I love him more" than any of his professional fellows.² I am aware that the general critical view of the play, willing or no, has assigned to Malvolio the chief masculine interest of the play. Indeed, in a relatively recent and well-received book, innocent from cover to cover of any apparent recognition that Shakespeare designed his plays for the stage rather than for the study, Mark Van Doren goes further: "Even Viola, much as we like her, stands a little to one side of the center. The center is Malvolio. The drama is between his mind and the music of old manners."³ One wishes that Van Doren had perceived that part of Feste's power is that he is the personified music of old manners.

But speaking from the point of view of one who has lived for some months with *Twelfth Night* in two actual productions and for many years with the play in class discussion, I incline to agree in part at least with J. Isaacs, who, lecturing to the Shakespeare Association of England in 1926, declared that "the protagonists are Feste and Malvolio." I cavil somewhat at the term "protagonists," and prefer the phrase which Isaacs used earlier of Touchstone and Jacques, "the two significant figures." Isaacs found the "problem" of the play to be the "eternal antagonism of Puritan and lightheart," but qualified the "light-heart" by continuing: "In the end Feste wins, and Malvolio wins, but in his victory Feste is sad. Feste is no boy as so often played, he must be of years to make the conflict with Malvolio more real, more respectful."⁴ I am not sure why Malvolio should deserve respect, but in the latter view, concerning Feste's age,

Isaacs would find support from that late great Shakespearean producer and scholar, Granville-Barker, who long ago in an acting edition of the play emphasized Feste's maturity, but strangely found in him "that vein of irony by which we may so often mark one of life's self-acknowledged failures," "a man of parts without character and with more wit than sense," who sought "a kindly refuge from the world's struggles as an allowed fool."

This, from so acute a critic, somewhat surprises me. All criticism savors necessarily of the impressionism which is the impact of the age, and Feste is frequently ironic; but I submit that his irony is that of his own realization of his intellectual superiority and not that of James Thurber's indubitably and profoundly revealing contemporary Middle Aged Man. And surely Feste lacks neither character nor sense; Bradley saw the play and the part much more clearly when he declared Feste "as sane as his mistress," not "even eccentric, scarcely even flighty," possessing "not only the ready wit required by his profession, and an intellectual agility greater than it requires, but also an insight into character and into practical situations so swift and sure that he seems to supply, in fuller measure than any of Shakespeare's other fools, the poet's own comment on the story." Surely Feste could justly say, "I wear not motley in my brain," and to the various examples cited by Bradley to demonstrate his ready wit, his mental agility and his real perception of character and situation, we might add the glancing irony of his question to Toby and Andrew: "Would you have a love song, or a song of good life?"; his refusal to explain to Viola the rascality of words: "words are grown so false I am loath to prove reason with them"; his reflection, as "an honest man and a good housekeeper," while donning the robe of Sir Topas: "I would I were the first that ever dissembled in such a gown"; his pithy retort to Malvolio, "I say there is no darkness but ignorance"; and the dignity of his wish that even the flighty Orsino should not "think that my desire is the sin of covetousness." I find much justice in Bradley's contention that in his own words (and we must remember that these include the words of his songs), we may in truth find "the poet's own comment on the story." And in the words of the other characters concerning him, surely the most impersonal, those which most sound like "the poet's own comment" on Feste, are those of Viola, who alone perceived "This fellow is wise enough to play the fool," who appreciates Feste's nice calculation of the "mood" and "quality of per-

sons, and the time," and who realizes that the "folly that he wisely shows, is fit."

I am indebted to Professor Robert M. Smith for reminding me that some thirty-five years ago Morris P. Tilley did assign to Feste, with Viola, a more important position in the play than has been usual with critics, who in the main, like Van Doren, concentrate attention upon Malvolio. Tilley saw *Twelfth Night* as Shakespeare's contribution to the contemporary study of "the problem of life," usually dramatically treated by denouncing the Puritanical or supposedly Malvolian point of view. But Tilley claimed that to Shakespeare the problem was "the conflict in human nature between the reason and the emotions; and he suggests to us in the perfect sanity of Viola and Feste that the solution lies not in the exclusion of either the one or the other, either reason or emotions."⁶ Viola and Feste, Tilley asserted, represent "the golden mean of the play" (obviously standing, to return to Van Doren, neither to right nor left of the center), and "To them Shakespeare has given self-control and a penetration that guide them in their course of life, without exposing them to the extreme either of folly or of austerity."⁸ Tilley also anticipated Bradley's contention that in Feste's words we find "the poet's own comment on the story" when he suggested to the jester Shakespeare gave "in goodly measure his own penetration into the motives of others."

In opposition to the "kindly refuge" theory of Granville-Barker, I would claim that part of the fascination and appeal of Feste lies really in our sympathetic sense of sorrow and pity for him. Viola, as I have noted, alone of his fellows in the play seems to see him clearly, and that dear innocent, despite Tilley, is much too preoccupied with her own troubles really to *feel* for or with Feste. Bradley, reflecting upon the degrading position (rather than the "kindly refuge") as professional jester for such a man, "perfectly sane," not shown as "unfit for independence," and "superior in mind to his superiors in rank," lamented: "And he has no Celia, no Countess, no Lear, to protect or love him."⁸ But we who read the play sensitively and appreciatively, I trust, do more than "take much delight in him;" we love him—we love him for his insight and philosophy, for his ability to build up for himself a world of fancy born of his acute observation of the world as it is, for his genuine and deep love of music, for his freedom from obscenity (Bradley's contrast here is the "foul-mouthed" Fool of *All's Well*, but Feste

in this respect is eminently more endearing than even the much-loved Beatrice of *Much Ado*) and from bad taste generally.⁹ Surely it is intentional that Fabian is introduced late in the play to take the part originally assigned to Feste by Maria in the gulling of Malvolio, and that when the necessity for a conspirator of his professional talents does finally draw him into the plot against the steward, "he takes steps to end it and consents, in his own voice, to provide the lunatic with light, pen, ink, and paper for his letter to Olivia."¹⁰ Feste is incapable of harboring a grudge, even against his professed enemy.

One point, already implied in the insistence upon Feste's possession of sense, I should like to remark on further. The play, it has been noted, is full of gulls. Only that bright and lovely creature Viola and Feste himself seem not to be deceived in one way or another, self-deceived or deceived by their fellows. If the play were produced as I suspect possibly Shakespeare meant it to be produced, that is, with Orsino and Olivia definitely comic characters, as humorous in their self-deception as Malvolio himself, I rather suspect we should more than ever see clearly how brightly shine forth the purity of mind and spirit of both Viola and Feste.¹¹ Occasional difficulties arise in production today from an apparent conflict between the romance of the Orsino-Olivia-Viola-Sebastian-Antonio motif and the farce of the Malvolio-Maria-Toby-Andrew-Fabian motif; the usual remedy is to attempt to soften the farce to bring it into harmony with the romance. I personally would like to see the experiment of bringing more of the romantic characters into the comedy. Probably it wouldn't work; certainly Feste could not be forced into farce. An innate dignity of character keeps him aloof from the antics and schemes of Toby and Andrew. This dignity is part of his maturity, and emphasizes that he must be played by a man, not a boy. We have noted Curio's reference to him as the favorite of Olivia's father; the words of both Malvolio and Olivia in the early part of Act I, scene 5, seem to establish him as distinctly not young; and Bradley found part of his appeal to our pity in that he is "a relic of the past."¹² Van Doren, we have noticed, failing to perceive Feste as the personification of the idea, saw one force in the dramatic conflict as "the music of old manners."

Of the song in Act II, scene 4, "Come away, come away, death," which Richmond Noble, citing himself as in agreement with Dover Wilson in his edition of the play, complained of as out of place,

Orsino, for all his abrupt "Here's for thy pains," notes: "It is old and plain . . . And dallies with the innocence of love, Like the old age." The song is amazingly suited to the character of its present singer, even in the "half-mocking pity" which Noble found in it, and if indeed this would seem to be the song which Viola was originally meant to sing, it is still absolutely right for Feste. Again, while I agree with Noble that Feste's concluding song "affords a most fitting commentary on the events in this comedy of cloudland;" I do not agree that it "maintains in the end the altogether comic quality of the play."¹³ Rather does "The Wind and the Rain" carefully shift final attention back to Feste after Malvolio's usually applause-commanding exit. And it allows Feste to make for the author his final comment; as a would-be modern critic put it recently:

All 'true' comedies . . . leave the audience in a thoughtful, and therefore uncomfortable, state of mind. They are the ones . . . in which the laughter of the comic poet is audible. Even "Twelfth Night," the comedy of Shakespeare with the most delicate atmosphere, finds the fool as the only wise man at the end, the only one who sees life as it is, whereas Orsino above stairs sees it as an alternately exalting and melancholy love-affair, and Sir Toby below stairs as one magnificent drinking-bout.¹⁴

This comment naturally, but I think unintentionally, recalls Tilley's conclusion in 1914 to his study of "organic unity" in the play. Admitting that the last song "is thought by some to be full of wisdom and by others to be hardly intelligible," Tilley copied down the words of the song, omitting the refrain throughout, and claimed that "In these words" Feste touches "lightly upon the fundamental idea of the play," summarizes his experience of life, of knaves and of non-knaves, refers in the third stanza to Malvolio and in the fourth to Toby and Andrew, to all of whom "men shut their gates," and concludes that "This matter of good and evil is as old as the world" and that folly brings only disappointment. In "The Wind and the Rain," Tilley felt that Feste, "the wise discerner of motives throughout the play," added the last comment of scorn for "the folly of extremes" and held up "to high praise the mean that we term golden."¹⁵

Thirteen years after Tilley's article was published, Austin Gray, in his illuminating and provocative article on the original player of Feste, Robert Armine, commented on this closing song as "a Tom o' Bedlam song in its joyous, child-like nonsense, which means everything or nothing, according as the listener is a German

commentator or not," surely a somewhat shortsighted reading.¹⁶ But one remembers that, as Richmond Noble put it, "To Warburton, Steevens, Staunton, and a host of other Georgian and Victorian editors the song was anathema, and they would have consigned the ditty to the footnotes as being the gag of an actor."¹⁷ Gray, while quite willing to assign the song to Armine rather than to Shakespeare (with Tilley I would here protest: the song is a part of the organic structure of the play), obviously thought too well of it to dub it "the gag of an actor." But a note of admiration—of willingness if not to read everything into "The Wind and the Rain," at least to refuse to read in it nothing more than "joyous, child-like nonsense,"—began to be sounded in the last century by Charles Knight and by a John Weiss, whose tribute of 1876 as quoted by Noble sounds strangely anticipative of later comments by Tilley and Bradley and Hazelton Spencer.

At any rate I take it that today it is commonly granted that the song fits the play, and that it exquisitely fits the character, which Bradley rightly noted as distinguished for the "serenity and gaiety of his spirit," reflected in this "old rude song about the stages of man's life, in each of which the rain rains every day; a song at once cheerful and rueful, stoical and humorous." Bradley went on, you will remember, to imagine Shakespeare himself humming the song as he reflected upon his own position, so like Feste's in its mingled dependence and superiority, and upon his ambition of securing independence, like Feste, by hoarding up the sixpences "until at last he could say the words, 'our revels now are ended,' and could break—was it a magician's staff or a Fool's bauble?"¹⁸ If this, eloquent as the whole passage is in Bradley's concluding three pages, seems to be making Feste's last song mean a great deal indeed, it was written by no German commentator, but by a scholar who in the same essay compared Feste's opinion of the Maria-Toby liaison with that of Gervinus, to conclude, with tongue in cheek: "but then Gervinus, though a most respectable critic, was no Fool."¹⁹ But it remained for Hazelton Spencer, less than a decade ago, to read into "The Wind and the Rain" still wider meanings; after paraphrasing the verses of the song, he went on:

And Feste prances out, tossing off the world's burden with a 'that's all one.' But in real life the cakes and ale were put away, the king's crown went down, the stage itself went down, the Puritans won. Feste's song is not, of course, a prophecy; it is a reminder, and a

transition from a world of faëry to the marshy Bankside Lane outside the door of the Globe. For it is a clue to what the Master of Ceremonies, the Feste of Festes, must himself have been thinking. It is the epilogue to the last and greatest of his joyous romantic comedies. He is to write more comedies, but very different ones, with a great deal in them that is far from joyous. And he had already set his feet, or was about to set them, on the *via dolorosa* of supreme and heart-rending tragedy.²⁰

I am enchanted with Bradley's impressionism,²¹ I am not quite ready to read into "The Wind and the Rain" quite all that Spencer did, although I think there is a gleam of real insight in his suggestion of the "transition from a world of faëry to the marshy Bankside Lane outside the door of the Globe."²² But that's all one. When some years before his death I first suggested to the late Tucker Brooke some of the ideas here expressed, he replied: "There is a peculiar quality about *Twelfth Night*, I think, that you have illustrated impressively. More than in the other high comedies, each of the greater characters, if you begin studying him, becomes a kind of peephole into infinity." And the late Virginia Woolf, that strangely perceptive and impressionistic critic, was moved by an Old Vic production of the play, "trembling perpetually on the brink of music," to write in much the same spirit—if one regrets the implication that Shakespeare reads better than he plays:

When Sir Andrew says "I was adored once," we feel that we hold him in the hollow of our hands; a novelist would have taken three volumes to bring us to that pitch of intimacy. And Viola, Malvolio, Olivia, the Duke—the mind so brims and spills over with all that we know and guess about them as they move in and out among the lights and shadows of the mind's stage that we ask why should we imprison them within the bodies of real men and women?²³

So to each his own vision. Herein I have merely recorded something of my own attachment to that "peephole into infinity" whose name, hauntingly and ironically, is Feste the Fool.

University of Colorado

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- 1 Introduction to *Twelfth Night, The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, edited by George Lyman Kittredge, Boston, Ginn, 1935, p. 400
 2. A. C. Bradley, "Feste the Jester," in *A Miscellany*, London, Macmillan, 1929, p. 207
 3. Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare*, New York, Holt, 1939, p. 169
 4. J. Isaacs, "Shakespeare as Man of the Theatre," in *A Series of Papers on Shakes-*

peare and the Theatre by Members of the Shakespeare Association 1925-1926, Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. 107-108. Cf. Herbert Farjeon, *The Shakespearean Scene. Dramatic Criticisms*, London, Hutchinson, 1949, p. 73, commenting on the Feste of Morland Graham in the 1933 Old Vic production: "a sweet, diffident fool, out of his guard unless you laugh and minister occasion to him, surprisingly but not unwarrantably old;" and p. 74, on the interpretation of Marius Goring in the 1937 production: "Immeasurably the best thing in this production . . . a worn clown, stark, tragic, like a stab in the heart of fun." Of the latter production, Audrey Williamson, *Old Vic Drama. A Twelve Years' Study of Plays and Players*, London, Rockliff, 1948, p. 87, wrote: "The fatality was emphasized most of all in Marius Goring's Clown a death's head framed in black, singing his songs of mortality in a voice as soft and dark as the surrounding twilight. Perhaps this was overdone; one missed the 'glad heart' of a Dicky Suett, the resilient wit of the jester that gilds the philosophic undercurrents. But in his dazzling Sir Topas scene the actor made amends, and gave us the joy and crackle of the natural mimic."

- 5 Morris P. Tilley, "The Organic Unity of *Twelfth Night*," PMLA, XXIX (1914), 556-557.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 558.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 559.
- 8 Bradley, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.
- 9 The editor of SAB, Professor Smith, who has so graciously called my attention to the Tilley article cited above, suggests that my attitude toward Beatrice, expressed at large in my article, "Much Ado About an Unpleasant Play," SAB, XXII (1947), 30-34, seems "a curious kind of Puritan reaction in you on the Malvolio order!" I confess it is, and merely point out mildly that my series of Shakespeare articles, published in SAB and CE, of which this is the seventh, is admittedly impressionistic and not meant to offer in any way a consecutive and articulated judgment of Shakespeare. That I am neither old enough nor wise enough to offer Professor Smith thinks my "earlier effort on *Much Ado*" should have been taken care of by Sidney L. Gulick, Jr.'s "More Ado about *Much Ado*," SAB, XXIII (1948), 55-58, but he suspects I "remain unregenerate." I have read Mr. Gulick's article several times in an honest effort to understand its attack upon me, that I might defend my attitude. I report regretfully that I can find little reference in the article to the actual content of my original paper. Mr. Gulick obviously understood neither of the two words, "brutality" and "bawdiness," which he objects to, as I used them and as I illustrated them. Therefore his article, while generally interesting, and showing an enviable if rather indiscriminating acquaintance with brutality and "bawdy" in Shakespeare, seems to me irrelevant as a comment upon my "curious kind of Puritan reaction" toward Beatrice and her play. Quite possibly I am "unregenerate."
- 10 Bradley, *loc. cit.* p. 215. Cf. Farjeon, *op. cit.*, p. 76, strangely puzzling over the problem of Fabian: "Who is Fabian? What is he? Where does he spring from? Why is he introduced into the play at all? Here is a Shakespearean mystery that has been left unexplored. Is there any other character in Shakespeare with so many words to say who remains so completely characterless? . . . Nearly all the lines that Fabian speaks could be spoken equally as well by some other character on the stage. It is almost as though Shakespeare had dodged up an extra part at the last moment to give a player a job." I think there is much to be said for the suggestion in the last sentence, but if one prefers to think of Shakespeare as possessed of an artistic conscience and to defend his plays as organic structures, I submit that my reason for Fabian's introduction is sound. It defends and preserves the integrity of Feste's character.
- 11 Although I claim credit for this interpretation as my own, the interested reader might compare George R. Foss, a professional producer, in his remarks upon the play in *What the Author Meant*, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 85-88. Also, and rather strangely, considering how many critics misread the opening speech

of Orsino, Richmond Noble, in his *Shakespeare's Use of Song*, Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 83, caught at least the comedy of Orsino, "an exotic in search of a sensation, . . . the Renaissance counterpart of the aesthetic so mercilessly satirized by Gilbert." Recently I discovered another kinspirit in Farjeon, *op. cit.*, p. 70, commenting upon Orsino and Olivia: "These two characters are in reality creations in the subtlest comic vein, the one in love with love, the other in love with grief, both figures of delicate mockery. If this were realized by the actors, the flexibility of their affections manifested in the final scene would not appear so improbable, and the love of Olivia for Viola-Cesario would stay within the bounds of comedy, instead of edging over the borderline into realms almost Sophoclean;" and p. 71 "I have yet to see Orsino and Olivia, who should be presented as pure fantastics, delicate creations in the comic vein 'Away before me, to sweet beds of flowers. Love-thoughts lie rich, when canopied with bowers.' That is Orsino, an emotional sybarite who does not realize that Feste is pulling his leg when he cries, 'Now the melancholy god protect thee!' As for Olivia, is she not, in memory of a dead brother, resolved to 'water once a day her chamber round With eye-offending brine?' and must we not agree with Viola when she says to Olivia that 'you do think you are not what you are?' We need Mrs. Patrick Campbell for Olivia." Singularly acute, and delightful, this last suggestion.

- 12 Bradley, *loc. cit.*, p. 213
- 13 Richmond Noble, "Shakespeare's Songs and Stage," in *A Series of Papers*, cited in footnote 4, for a larger discussion of these songs and their relationship to Feste, *vide* Noble, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-86
- 14 Michael Roemer, "An Aspect of Modern Comedy," *Halcyon*, Spring 1948, p. 44
- 15 Tilley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 564-566
- 16 Austin K. Gray, "Robert Armine, the Foole," PMLA, XLII (1927), 684. Cf. the atrabilious and vicious attack on Armine in Frank O'Connor, *The Road to Stratford*, London, Methuen, 1948, pp. 73-74, comparing what is strangely called "The slick, bloodless, homosexual patter" of Armine with Kempe's "robuster buffoonery." Of *Twelfth Night*, the pugnaciously assertive Irishman remarks "It is, of course, excellent theatre, but the lyric quality is fitful and slight, and Armin's icy slickness invests all the characters in an impenetrable armour of allusiveness. . . . The weakness is the weakness of all cleverness: the glassy surface, the lack of inner perspective. The epigrams, all to one tune, are rolled off suavely like those in a Wilde play, but though one thinks of the epigrams themselves one never thinks of who said them or in what connection. . . . So far as I recollect, malapropism as a source of fun practically disappears from the plays, and its place is taken by patter and repartee, and something of warmth, of kindness, of the poetry of the inn and the village green disappears with it. We no longer hear the music of 'He is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler.' It is as though the lights were going out in Shakespeare's mind." Well! Despite my love for "the poetry of the inn and the village green," despite my Irish heritage, I can only say, *de gustibus, etc.*
- 17 Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 18 Bradley, *loc. cit.*, p. 211
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 208
- 20 Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1940, pp. 269-270
- 21 Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare Comedy*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 188, in a paragraph which in a sense summarizes Bradley's interpretation, dismisses the essay itself as "charming, but perhaps too subjective." I hesitate to prophesy the verdict of my friend Dr. Parrott on this *reprise*, should it come to his attention.
- 22 Cf. an apparently related bit of recent impressionism, Farjeon, *op. cit.*, p. 76: "The English climate was as damp in Elizabeth's day as it is now. The groundlings

must often have stood in the rain (being as enthusiastic as football crowds) during open-air performances. If 1601 was a wet summer, what an apt song for an auditorium open to the sky must have been the Clown's 'With hey, ho, the wind and the rain!' Can't you see the groundlings, as they join in the chorus, drawing their old cloaks around them?" I could, if I could get over that difficulty of *Twelfth Night* and a wet summer, which somehow disturbs me.

23. Virginia Woolf, *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, c. 1942, pp. 45-46.



ARTFUL BREVITY IN SHAKESPEARE'S MONOLOGS

By WARREN SMITH

NEARLY every reader of Shakespeare soon becomes aware that the dramatist periodically halts the normal interchange of dialog in his plays to insert one of four types of monolog: soliloquy, apostrophe,¹ aside,² or scroll reading. But it might be of interest to investigate the stagecraft behind the number of lines expended on these conventions, thereby to determine what principles of playhouse practice seem to have influenced the limitations of length the playwright placed upon each kind of monolog.

A close study of all Shakespearean soliloquies seems at first to reveal but little, for they range in length from as many as seventy-two lines³ down to only half a line,⁴ or, as in one instance, even two words.⁵ A few soliloquists in the earliest plays do show a tendency to be longer-winded⁶ than their successors of later date, but there appears to be no sharp contrast according to period. In fact, most of the early plays with exceptionally long soliloquies contain as well examples of very brief ones.⁷ The same Proteus who encompasses a whole scene with one soliloquy,⁸ for instance, is limited to but three lines in another.⁹

Purposeful contrast in length seems to become evident, however, when we separate those soliloquies given by an actor while he is alone on the stage from those delivered while other actors lurk somewhere in the background as eavesdroppers. Soliloquies given in the presence of other actors are consistently shorter. Whenever this type of soliloquy threatens to exceed a reasonable maximum, moreover, the dramatist breaks it up into smaller sections with comments from the eavesdroppers. The longest overheard soliloquy, for example, is the one of thirty-eight lines spoken by Henry VI while two keepers listen from their hiding place. Comments from the keepers break this up into three pieces, the longest of which extends to only twenty-seven lines.¹⁰ And a more drastic process of

interruption is put upon Parolles' overheard soliloquy in *All's Well That Ends Well*, where the lords and soldiers in ambush divide what would have otherwise been a continuous monolog of thirty-two lines into fully nine separate sections.¹¹ But as we should expect, a keen sense of good theatre lies behind Shakespeare's practice of cutting his overheard soliloquies shorter than the others. For one thing, a long soliloquy unbroken by comments from the other players lurking in the background would run the danger of letting the audience forget their existence in the stage picture. Also, these hidden actors are always there for a dramatic purpose: to listen to what the soliloquist is revealing. Their periodical comments serve to inform the audience that they are doing so.

In general, the dramatist's apostrophes are notably shorter than his soliloquies, a good number of them not extending beyond two lines. The longest is given by Timon¹² as he stands alone¹³ on the stage and raves to all the gods against mankind. But being completely alone, Timon, of course, is in a position similar to that of the pure soliloquist who gives his monolog on a stage otherwise unoccupied: with no other players around who could possibly break into the delivery, the audience does not anticipate interruption. In contrast to this type, apostrophes delivered with other characters on stage are much briefer, one containing but three words.¹⁴ Moreover, the very nature of all apostrophes tends to limit the number of lines that artistically can be allotted to their delivery. All are directly addressed to abstractions,¹⁵ inanimate objects,¹⁶ or characters supposed to be incapable of hearing the words either because they are not on stage¹⁷ the while or because they are dead.¹⁸ Such indirectness, ignoring both the living characters on stage and the audience at the same time, cannot be prolonged with much hope of success beyond closely defined limits. Thus it is not surprising to discover that the great majority of apostrophes in Shakespeare do not extend beyond ten lines, especially since most apostrophes,¹⁹ unlike soliloquies, are delivered in front of characters obviously intended to hear them, who thereby would be expected by the audience to interrupt monologs of much greater length.

The aside in Shakespeare is usually shorter than either the soliloquy or apostrophe, the great majority being limited to from one to four lines. The total number of lines in a series of asides exchanged between players, to be sure, may readily exceed the normal length of the single aside. Such a series (the most prolonged exam-

ple in the plays) occurs in *Othello*, where while the Moor writhes in the background out of earshot, Iago and Cassio carry on a dialog about Bianca which extends to fully seventy-four lines.²⁰ And in *Measure for Measure*, Claudio and Lucio seem to interchange another long series.²¹ But even series of asides between actors rarely continue unbroken for as long as these two. Asides to the audiences, being single speeches rather than exchanges, are notably briefer. By far the most garrulous deliverer of this type is Leontes, who ignores both Camillo and Mamillius on the stage with him for twenty-eight lines while he confides his growing jealousy to the audience.²² No other character in the plays is permitted to prolong such an aside for even half so many lines.²³ The reason Shakespeare generally cut his asides shorter than soliloquies or apostrophes becomes evident when we consider the situation of the actor during delivery. While an aside is being given, at least one actor on the open stage with the speaker must be totally ignored. Until the aside is finished there are but two courses such an actor, who is not supposed to hear the words, can take: he can pretend to be occupied with something or someone else, or he can "freeze" (hold his position without movement and his facial expression without change). Now a player can become only so active about some other matter without running the risk of distracting the attention of the audience from the deliverer of the aside. And he can remain frozen in the picture for just so long without looking foolish. Hence the shorter the aside (especially when directed to the audience) the better for those actors on stage who must be ignored during the delivery.

When the actor playing the part of Celia in *As You Like It* entered the stage and read from a scroll²⁴ the thirty lines of Orlando's verses (III.ii.133-162) to Rosalind and Touchstone, he reached the top limit of time Shakespeare allows anyone to read aloud continuously.²⁵ And upon the reading of Orlando's poem the dramatist has Rosalind make the rather fitting comment:

O most gentle pulpiter! what tedious homily of love have
you wearied your parishioners withal and never cried,
'Have patience, good people'! (163-166)

As we have seen Shakespeare do with overheard soliloquies and asides to the audience, he usually breaks scroll readings of any such length into smaller sections, with comments from other characters on the stage at the time, or with observations from the reader himself. For illustration, Malvolio must read aloud (and we are glad

he does) the entire twenty-eight lines of the letter planted for him by Maria—but Sir Toby, Fabian, and Malvolio himself break the delivery into four sections.²⁶ At another point in *Twelfth Night*, comments from Fabian divide Sir Toby's reading of the eighteen-line challenge written by Sir Andrew into six small parts.²⁷ But the thinnest slicing of a scroll reading is done in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, by Launce to Speed's rendition of the "catalog" which sets forth the virtues of Launce's milkmaid. Here the severed members of a scroll of only twenty-three lines are spread over fully seventy-five lines of text.²⁸ Other scrolls that would otherwise lengthen out beyond a reasonable period of continuous reading time are treated less drastically but similarly. That scroll readings are cut so short is also dramaturgically sound practice. They are the most lifeless of all the conventions which depart from the normal play of dialog. Whether a player actually reads lines that are written on the scroll before him or merely holds a blank sheet and fakes the reading, the effect is the same. To show that he is reading rather than commenting on the contents of the scroll, he must make his voice take on a distant tone. His eyes must be on the scroll at least part of the time during delivery. The convention, in brief, forces the player to drop temporarily the intimate contact necessary to the lively interplay of emotions in the theatre. For the time being, too, other actors on stage are pushed at least half-way out of the picture. What is worse, the audience feels it is being half shunned until the actor pockets his letter and becomes a vital force again. The modern camera saves moving-picture audiences from this feeling by literally allowing them to read letters over the film player's shoulder. But even when, as over the radio, modern audiences cannot see the reader, the indirectness that must often creep into his voice when he reads becomes irritating if it continues too long. Thus when we examine the stagecraft of a playwright so conscious of the needs of his audience as William Shakespeare, we expect him not to prolong his readings of scrolls beyond the normal endurance of his customers. And, as with the other types of monolog, he lives up to expectations.

Rhode Island State College

¹Even the apostrophe delivered by an actor alone on stage differs from the pure soliloquy in that it is neither a direct address to the audience nor "introspective." See my article, "The Shakespearean Apostrophe", *SAB*, xxiii (October, 1948). 195-200.

²The aside exchanged between actors, to be sure, technically is a form of dialog rather than monolog. Morris Arnold (*The Soliloquies of Shakespeare*, New York, 1911, p. 3) labels the monolog-aside, that is addressed to the audience, as an "apart."

³Henry VI, III.ii.124-195. Line markings are from G. L. Kittredge (ed.), *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Boston, 1936.

⁴*Troilus and Cressida*, V.iii.95

⁵*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV.iii.22. "Ay me!" Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II.ii.25.

⁶See 3 Henry VI, II.v.1-54, 2 Henry VI, I.i.214-259; *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II.vi.1-43; and *Richard II*, V.v.1-66.

⁷For example: 3 Henry VI, II.iii.1-5, 2 Henry VI, I.i.61-67; and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV.iii.1-3. *Richard II* contains only the one soliloquy.

⁸See above, note 6.

⁹*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I.i.159-161

¹⁰3 Henry VI: III.i.13-21, 24-25, and 28-54

¹¹IV.i.27-34, 37-47, 50-52, 54-55, 57-58, 60-61, 63, 66-67, and 69

¹²*Timon of Athens*, IV.i.1-41

¹³For differentiation between the kind of apostrophe given by Timon and the pure soliloquy, see note 1 above.

¹⁴*The Taming of the Shrew*, I.ii.229

¹⁵For example: to "outrage" (*Richard III*, II.iv.63-65), to "Fortune" (*Romeo and Juliet*, III.v.60-64), to "Wit" (*Twelfth Night*, I.v.35-40), to "fate" (*Troilus and Cressida*, V.vi.25-26). I put in the same category the several apostrophes in the plays addressed to the "gods."

¹⁶For example: to a sword (2 Henry VI, IV.x.72-76), to Pomfret Castle (*Richard III*, III.iii.8-13), to a picture of a "blinking idiot" (*The Merchant of Venice*, II.ix.56-57), to a vial of poison (*Romeo and Juliet*, V.i.85-86).

¹⁷See *Richard III*, III.iv.91-92, *Much Ado About Nothing*, V.i.259-260; *Cymbeline*, IV.i.17-21; *The Winter's Tale*, II.ii.2-4.

¹⁸See 2 Henry VI, IV.x.86-90, 3 Henry VI, II.ii.54-55; 1 Henry IV, V.iii.22-24; *Julius Caesar*, V.iii.80-87, *Hamlet*, V.i.266-269.

¹⁹More than half of the 216 apostrophes I detect in the plays

²⁰IV.i.104-177

²¹I.ii.146-198, not marked as asides in Kittredge, ed. cit.

²²*The Winter's Tale*, I.ii.180-207, sometimes considered as a soliloquy. But the text shows that the speaker is fully aware of the presence of the other characters; also, no character eavesdrops, which would not be the case with a soliloquy.

²³Second to Leontes is Macbeth, who ignores Ross, Angus, and Banquo for thirteen lines (*Macbeth*, I.iii.130-142).

²⁴E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, I, 198) feels that such lines were written on the scrolls which the actors carried on stage.

²⁵Dumain's "sonnet", of twenty lines (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV.iii.101-120), is the second longest continuous reading.

²⁶*Twelfth Night*: II.v.100-101, 107-110, 115-118, and 155-172

²⁷III.iv.161-162, 164-166, 170-173, 176-177, 179-180, and 183-187

²⁸III.i.302-376



BELLEFOREST AND THE GONZAGO STORY:

HAMLET, III.ii

By G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

NO ONE I believe has drawn attention to the possible connection between certain elements of the Gonzago story in *Hamlet* and the conclusion of the Hamlet story as told by Saxo Grammaticus through Belleforest. Long ago Furness dismissed the last chapters of the original Hamlet story with these words:

"There remain two more chapters of *The Historie of Hamblet, Prince of Denmarke*. As the interest of the story ceases here, so far as Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is concerned, the poet having made no use of it beyond this point, I subjoin merely the titles of the last two chapters."¹

And the same view seems to have been generally accepted by later editors. Yet some connection between the play-within-the-play and incidents concerned with Amleth's death as related by Saxo seem to me clearly suggested.

After the Player-Queen has protested her undying love for her husband, the Player-King replies:

Faith, I must leave thee, love, and shortly too;
My operant powers their function leave to do.
And thou shalt live in this fair world behind,
Honour'd, belov'd, and haply one as kind
For husband shalt thou—

The Player-Queen interrupts, declaring her complete aversion to a second husband under any circumstances:

In second husband let me be accurst!
None wed the second but who kill'd the first.

But her husband answers:

I do believe you think what now you speak;
 But what we do determine oft we break . . .
 Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.
 So think thou wilt no second husband wed;
 But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead.

The Player-King now dies, poisoned, and his wife, as we learn from the dumb-show, almost immediately seeks refuge in the arms of the murderer.

If we turn now to Belleforest's translation and expansion of Saxo's narrative, we find the following account of the events leading up to Amleth's death:

Mais au bout de quelque temps, Vviglere, desirieux de tenir tout le pays en sa subiection, . . . & que aussi Hermetrude (que Amleth aymoît plus que soymesme) avoit intelligence avec luy, & luy avoit promis mariage, pourveu qu'il l'ostast des mains de celui qui la detenoit, envoya defier Amleth, & luy denoncer la guerre a toute outrance. Ce bon & sage Prince aymant son peuple, eust voulu chercher les moyens d'eviter c'este guerre, mais la refusant il voyoit une grande tache pour son honneur, & l'acceptant so fin luy paroissoit certaine: . . . Mais le pys qui gastoit ce vertueux Prince, estoit le trop de fiance qu'il avoit en sa femme Hermethrude, & l'amitié trop vehemente qui luy pourtoit, . . . Or le plus grand regret qu'eust ce Roy affolé de sa femme, estoit le separation de celle, qu'il idolatroit, & s'asseurant de son desastre, eust voulu, ou que elle luy eust tenu cōpaignie à la mort, ou luy trouver mary qui l'aymast, luy trespasé, a l'esgal de l'extreme amour qu'il luy portoit: mais la desloyale avoit desia pourveu à ses nopces, sans que son mary fallut qui se meit en peine pour luy en pratiquer: lequel elle voyant riste pour l'amour d'elle, & se devant absenter de sa compaignie, elle, pour le coifer d'avantage, & l'encourager d'aller à sa deffaicate, luy promist de le suyvre par tout, & de iouyr de mesme fortune que luy, fust elle mauvaise, ou telle qu'il la souhaitoit, . . . & que la femme estoit malheureuse, laquelle craignoit de suivre & accompagner son mary a la mort: si qu'a luy parler, on eust dit que c'estoit l'espouse d'un Mithridate, ou Zenobie Royne des Palmireniens, tant elle s'affectionnoit a la matiere, & faisoit parade de sa constance, & ferme amitié. Mais a l'effect on veit combien vaine fut la promesse de ceste volage Princesse, . . . car Amleth ne fut pas si tost au camp, qu'elle trouva les moyens de voir Vviglere, & la bataille estant donnee, & le miserable Danoys mys à mort, Hermethrude se rendit avec les despouilles de son mary mort, ntre les mains de Tyran, le quel plus que content de ses metamorphoses tant desirees, donna ordre que soudain

fut solemnisé le mariage acheté avec le sang, & richesses du fils de Horvven-dille.²

Four common elements between the Belleforest version of Saxo and the Gonzago story are here apparent,—only one of them also present in the Claudius-Gertrude relationship. In both we find a husband laboring under the fear of imminent death, the suggestion of a second husband,³ the wife who “doth protest too much,” and the speedy entente between the instigator of the husband’s death and the “faithful” wife. These links need not, of course, cast doubt upon the sometime existence of a Gonzago tale “written in very choice Italian,” but the possibility of influence from the original story of Amleth’s death is at least worth observing, especially when we consider that the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*, unlike later readers, would not approach Saxo-Belleforest with Shakespeare’s play in mind (not knowing in advance what he was looking for), and would have no good reason for skipping the last chapters of the old legend.

University of Illinois

¹*Hamlet*, New Variorum Edition, 1877, II, 113

²I quote from the critical text of the 1576 edition, published as an Appendix to M. Blakemore Evans’ *Der bestrafte Brudermord, sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeares Hamlet* (in *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, 1910, XIX, 140-142).

³The exact motive for the Player-King’s suggestion about a second husband is not clear. It may be either from jealousy or from solicitude for his wife’s future, as in Saxo. In *Hamlet* Q1 the solicitude motive seems stronger, but still the point is confused.



QUARTERLY REVIEWS

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS MEMORIAL STUDIES

BY WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

I

THE JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS MEMORIAL STUDIES was published last year by the Folger Shakespeare Library under the editorship of James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby. It contains a frontispiece portrait of Dr. Adams, an appreciation by Stanley King, former President of Amherst, a biographical sketch by Professor Lane Cooper, a bibliography of Dr. Adams' books and articles, and 53 tributary articles by American and English scholars, on Shakespearean and Renaissance topics. The volume runs to over eight hundred pages, is handsomely printed with almost no errors, and might be called by a humorist the memorial to end all memorials.

Actually the level of technical scholarship is very high and the authors with rare exceptions conduct themselves with correctness, suavity, and restraint. There are usually not too many footnotes or an unnecessary display of erudition; and if the essays seldom have flavor or wit, they at any rate—again with rare exceptions—do not descend from sobriety to ponderous jargon or obscurity. In quality of execution and in interest or importance of subjects they compare well with the contents of the learned quarterlies—about as many small points are scored for each major one, and in as workmanlike a way. The reader will therefore get from the *Adams Studies* a good notion of the range of current scholarly interest in Shakespeare and his age; only the history of criticism finds no direct representation.

It is obviously impossible in a review, no matter how generous the latitude allowed, to deal adequately with the fifty-odd papers here collected. An attempt will be made, however, to group them loosely and to discuss or describe briefly the more interesting or representative papers in each group.

II

Most timely, perhaps, of all the essays, and as important as any is Professor Oscar J. Campbell's destructive analysis of current imagery- and symbolism-hunting technique in "Shakespeare and the 'New' Critics."¹ "The new critics," he writes, "demand that a poem be a coherent system of images organized so artfully as to embody the essential imaginative significance of the work . . . [it] must state an experience in terms of conflict between two extreme opposites." In criticizing Shakespeare's plays the new critics also adopt T. S. Eliot's belief "that in a play of Shakespeare there are several levels of significance . . . for the auditors of the most delicate sensibility there is a meaning implicit in the imagery which reveals itself only gradually."

Campbell then exposes the absurdities of this critical gospel by analyzing the interpretation of *Macbeth* by Cleanth Brooks and of *Measure for Measure* by an English disciple of the school. He concludes:

"They approach each play of Shakespeare under a compulsion to find in his poetry those characteristics which T. S. Eliot and his followers have decided must be present in all pure poetry. They assume therefore that Shakespeare, like Donne, constructed an integrated system of connotation based on the iteration of certain words, to which the poet had given an arbitrary symbolical value. And they make the further assumption that in this system of sequence and repetition of images all the poetry of the play is fused into one intense impression." After examining the applications of this philosophy, he observes: "But Shakespeare seems never to have manipulated his imagery in this consciously scheming fashion. His poetry rather gives the effect of a spontaneous eruption from that secret region of the mind where the imaginative impulse is generated." He concludes that Shakespeare's use of imagery was dramatic, in relation to situation and character, not a basic metaphysical, ethical, or sociological proposition. This is an opinion in which all those who see the plays as primarily designed for the theater will heartily concur.¹

III

Another current source of lively controversy is the comparative responsibility of the native and the foreign dramatic tradition for the stage practice of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. In recent

years the medievalists, led by Professor Willard Farnham, have been having it their own way. Farnham here, in "The Medieval Comic Spirit in the English Renaissance," makes an interesting observation that in the well-known mixture of the comic or grotesque with the religious or tragic in medieval literature and art "the Gothic genius was providing an assault from within itself against its own pride of spirit;" and that the medieval attitude influenced the portrait of Falstaff (more Vice than braggart) and of Lear's fool.

Three articles, on the other hand, deal with classical influences. Professor T. W. Baldwin enjoys himself hunting up and down the centuries the *Comedy of Errors* pun, "Respite finem . . . 'beware the rope's end'." Senecan influence is the thesis behind Professor F. R. Johnson's "Shakespearian Imagery and Senecan Imitation" and Professor Hardin Craig's "Shakespeare and the History Play." Of the former piece it may be said that it sets Shakespeare scholarship the task (well-nigh impossible, as the author's conclusion virtually admits) of determining not "his indebtedness to some particular Latin poem for ideas and images but . . . how and why, in accord with the doctrine of imitation which he learned from his schooling, he selected, combined, and transmuted the material which first fired his imagination." Professor Craig takes ground directly opposed to the Schelling-G. P. Baker conception of the chronicle play as a native epical form, and also to the Farnham-Howard Baker emphasis on medieval influences. Like Manly he would call *Gorboduc* a chronicle play, since "the chronicle play is a grouping of dramas, not on the basis of form, but of subject matter and purpose." Admitting that many plays represent a compromise between the native form and Senecan tragedy, he proceeds to emphasize the latter influence, by classifying many of the longer speeches in the Henry VI plays and *Richard III* as reproductions of Senecan rhetorical forms. Hesitation to go the whole way with Professor Craig will be based on the reflection that much of what is labeled Senecan may derive from the native poetic and dramatic tradition. There was irony before *Gorboduc*, expository monologue in miracle play and morality, debate, tirade, and apostrophe in Chaucer.

Professor Chew traces backward and forward from *As You Like It* the treatment of the Ages of Man in literature and in art. Professor Thomas P. Harrison, Jr., describes the Folger unique copy of *The Secret of Secrets* and its suggested influence on *1 Henry IV*, *King Lear*, and *The Shepherd's Calendar*. In "The Imperial Theme"

Henry N. Paul argues that *Macbeth* is substantially indebted to Matthew Gwinne's *Vertumnus*, Bellenden's translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*, and John Leslie's *De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*. He cites interesting parallels, but in my judgment supports his case by unlikely interpretation of several passages in the play.

With these papers on "influences" may be grouped two excellent articles on Shakespeare's sources. Professor Matthew W. Black has a thorough and persuasive essay on *Richard II*, which rejects Dover Wilson's hypothesis of an "old play" reworked by Shakespeare. Professor Robert Adgar Law's "Belleforest, Shakespeare, and Kyd," presents a closely reasoned argument that in all its main features the development of the Hamlet story from the bare outline of Belleforest conforms to Shakespeare's usual practice; and that therefore there is little which can with any confidence be attributed to the *Ur-Hamlet*, by Kyd or whomever else. He grants the old play the ghost; on the strength of Nashe's allusion of 1589 he might also grant him the cold night on the battlements of Elsinore—and hence, perhaps, a substantial part of the play's scenario.

IV

On the related topics of staging and dramatic technique five essays call for mention. Professor George F. Reynolds, in "*Troilus and Cressida* on the Elizabethan Stage" works out a possible staging of the play for a Globe or an Inn of Court production, in an admirably clear and plausible manner. He shows it could be played with great simplicity in either theater or hall; he notes the absence of balcony scenes: he suggests the possibility of establishing some five relatively unchanging locations in a "Renaissance Terentian setting."

In contrast with this conservative and cautious article is "The Original Staging of *King Lear*," by Dr. John C. Adams. Readers of *The Globe Playhouse* will not be surprised by the positiveness of this reconstruction. Adams's multiple stages (Was it seven?) are here again. He tells us that beyond peradventure in the Elizabethan drama two successive scenes never represent two essentially different places. He localizes many more scenes than would most students of the stage and hence has to have more scene-divisions than seem probable; he likes scenes indoors, as against Chamber's preference for threshold scenes; he moves characters back into the inner stage for

the concluding lines of a scene and closes the curtains to denote change of place; he stages important action on and behind the balcony.

It would be possible to contest a very large part of the *Lear* reconstruction. Let me say only that I find it impossible to believe that Act I, Scene ii, and Act II, Scene i, two scenes of substantial action involving numerous characters, were played on the upper stage.

In "Another *Othello* too Modern" Professor Stoll makes an effective rejoinder, along lines familiar to readers of his criticism, to the interpretation of *Othello* by Professor G. G. Sedgwick. (Sedgwick thinks audiences regard the marriage as miscegenation; thinks the tragic outcome inevitable even without Iago; plays the changes on "irony" like the newest of the "New" critics.)

Professor M. A. Shaaber in "The Unity of *Henry IV*" is not so convincing as Professor Stoll. He vigorously denies the unity of the two parts of the play as expounded by Dover Wilson and Tillyard. Effective in rebuttal of their more extreme propositions, the essay itself takes too extreme a position in support of the independence of the two plays. It has been argued before now that Part II was an afterthought, on the basis of the greater space allotted comedy and the slight and repetitious historical action. But there are weighty grounds for rejecting this view:

1) The last speech of Part I looks directly forward to the military action of Part II. 2) The source materials in *The Famous Victories* and in Holinshed dealing with the latter part of the reign of Henry IV can hardly have been discarded by the dramatist and rescued from the wastebasket when Part I proved to be a great success. He must, it would seem, have saved them; must originally have planned to utilize the final misunderstanding and reconciliation of Hal and the King, the latter's death, and the rejection of Falstaff as the climax of a second play. He cannot have planned to forego the taking of the crown and all its dramatic prelude and sequel, nor to begin *Henry V* with either the death of Henry IV or the rejection scene. 3) The close parallels between Parts I and II in the alternation of historical and comic scenes, cited by Professor Shaaber as evidence that Part II is an afterthought, actually represent standard and not greatly varied practice in plays of double plot. 4) The speech tag *Old.*, surviving in Q₁ of Part II (I,ii. 137), points to some

work on Part II having been done before the production of Part I annoyed the descendants of Sir John Oldcastle.

Professor John W. Spargo, writing on "The Knocking on the Gate in *Macbeth*," collects allusions from Horace to Dekker in support of the argument that in Elizabethan minds the knocking was associated with death and hence marks a climax of horror rather than the relief or relaxation from a return to ordinary life which DeQuincey supposed. It might be suggested that the detail has a composite rather than a simple effect, including (1) Professor Spargo's death knock, (2) dramatic tension at the pending exposure of the crime, and (3) as DeQuincey so vividly drew it, the contrast between the dark world of murder and the daylight of ordinary life.

V

Three essays present aspects of Shakespeare's thought. Writing on "Shakespeare's Ideal Man," Professor Alfred Harbage takes off from works by Mazzini, Santayana, T. S. Eliot, Bernard Shaw, Frank Harris, and others which state or imply a shortcoming or limitation in the dramatist's character portrayals. Shakespeare's good characters, he declares, represent ideals conceived by him to be good, and we should see what they are before condemning them. His survey of Shakespeare's good characters points to three indispensable qualities: the ideal man "must be scholarly, soldierly, and honest." The essay scrutinizes and discriminates these qualities in detail.

Professor R. C. Bald, in "'Thou, Nature, art my Goddess': Edmund and Renaissance Free-Thought," observes (1) that in *Lear* "the key word to denote the regulating principle not merely in human relationships but within the cosmos as well is not 'order' or 'degree' but 'nature';" (2) that Edmund in his first soliloquy uses nature in a different sense, for "action prompted by instinct or impulse", a concept found in some classical and medieval writers and in Donne, and in seventeenth century freethinkers ("Edmund's words, therefore . . . were deliberately intended to shock and startle . . . Anarchy is his creed"); (3) that Edmund's attitude toward astrology is that of the freethinker, like Iago's and Cassius' ("Such individualism, Shakespeare implies, is subversive, for it threatens the higher principle of order.")—This is no doubt quite correct, but it must be remarked that the dramatist seems to have enjoyed free-thinking by proxy; he had the fun and his characters took the beating.

The third essay in this group, Donald J. McGinn's "The Precise Angelo," argues that *Measure for Measure* shows Shakespeare's "sympathy with the Old Faith" and is "a defense of Christian charity against the unbalance of the Puritans . . . The benevolent roles played by the Catholic Duke and Isabella could not be the product of a mind hostile to Roman Catholicism." Leaving one side the general interpretation of this much-debated play, one may agree to this particular absence of hostility. But one must add that Shakespeare did not have a "hostile" mind: he was not hostile to Jews, to Germanic pagans, to cynic philosophers, to suiciding Romans, nor to ladies of easy virtue from tavern wenches to Eastern queens.

VI

The papers dealing with the more technical questions of the text of Shakespeare and the canon must be treated cursorily.

Professor Fredson Bowers, continuing his disagreement with Dr. Greg's inferences from his study of the Pide Bull quarto of *King Lear*, undertakes a minute examination of "the actual mechanical processes by which the Elizabethan printer proofed his sheets." Professor Charlton Hinman adequately demonstrates that the Second Quarto of *Othello* (1630) does not rest upon any independent manuscript, and hence has no authority. Professor G. B. Harrison in "A Note on Coriolanus" pushes his defense of F_1 line division too hard and with somewhat specious reasoning. Professor Albert H. Carter's "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* of 1609" is an elaborate but not very clear study, largely in statistical form. It deduces a fairly obvious truth from a mass of data which seem to me not well interpreted.

The canon gets little attention. Professor H. T. Price in "Mirror-Scenes in Shakespeare" makes an admirable exposition of the use of these not strictly necessary scenes to illuminate the theme, or for contrast, or for modification of suspense. Undertaken as a defense of Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus Andronicus*, III, ii, the argument lends support to the authenticity of scenes in other plays often under suspicion, such as *Macbeth*, II, iv and III, vi. Professor George C. Taylor's attempt to answer affirmatively his question "Did Shakespeare, Actor, Improvise in *Every Man in His Humour*?" carries little conviction to one reader. (Even less convincing—to step out of the Shakespearian field—is Gerald J. Eberle's dependence on vocabulary and phrasal tests in dividing *the Family of Love* between Middleton and Dekker.)

VII

The remaining Elizabethan studies, nearly half the volume, must be dealt with swiftly and hence unfairly.

The following essays should be read for profit and enjoyment:

Miss Helen C. White's classically phrased review of "Sixteenth Century Devotional Literature"; John Leon Lievsay's useful collection, "Some Renaissance Views of Diogenes the Cynic"; Lawrence Babb's descriptive and cautionary essay, "On the Nature of Elizabethan Psychological Literature"; Theodore Spencer's "The Elizabethan Malcontent," placing the malcontent among melancholiacs and speculating on the cause of his sudden emergence at the end of the century; F. P. Wilson's "Some Notes on Authors and Patrons in Tudor and Stuart Times"; C. T. and Ruth Prouty's detailed and suggestive "George Gascoigne, *The Noble Art of Venerie*, and Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth"; Harold S. Wilson's "The Humanism of Gabriel Harvey," depicting him as a "secular humanist" of the older generation, "a Ciceronian of the generation of Sidney and Spenser"; C. J. Sisson's identification of the source of the Dapper scenes in *The Alchemist* in a fraud perpetrated against a relative by marriage of John Donne; G. E. Bentley's "Randolph's *Praeludium* and the Salisbury Court Theatre;" and G. P. V. Akrigg's "The Curious Marginalia of Charles, Second Lord Stanhope," containing a liberal sampling of the "jumbled brains" of "one of the more curious members of the English aristocracy."

The other articles in the latter half of the volume all assemble biographical, bibliographical or other facts, of varying importance but not demanding special mention.

VIII

EPILOGUE

To those whose studies have not been mentioned,
 To those who have had less praise than they deserve,
 To those whose results have been distorted by misplaced praise
 or wrong interpretation,
 To those with whom the critic in his wisdom has found fault,
 In short, to all the contributors to this monumental volume:
 "As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
 Let your indulgence set me free."

Brown University

¹See R. W. Babcock's "Mr. Heilman on *King Lear*," SAB, April, 1949 (Editor's note).

GRANVILLE-BARKER'S SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM

BY ROBERT M. SMITH

The Princeton University Press has performed a service for Shakespeare scholars, teachers, and lay readers by making available in two handsome volumes an American edition of the revised texts of Granville-Barker's *Prefaces to Shakespeare*. In earlier form this critic and noted stage director prepared these essays for *The Players' Shakespeare*, a sumptuous project which was never completed. Subsequently, they were reissued in less pretentious form in three volumes in England. The second volume of the American edition contains, however, the preface to *Othello* and the preface to *Coriolanus*, completed shortly before the author's death, hitherto not generally available.¹

Probably no set of critical essays has been so influential in Shakespeare criticism as Granville-Barker's since the appearance of A. C. Bradley's *Shakespeare Tragedy* in 1904. Bradley may be said to have written the standard philosophical interpretation and character analyses from the point of view of the scholar examining minutely the tragedies within the four walls of the library. All Shakespeare scholars are indebted to Bradley, often far more than they themselves realize or remember to acknowledge. Even now many students, suddenly seized by brilliant interpretations of character or of scene, are chagrined to discover that they are merely echoing Bradley who had elaborated these same points long before them.

The trend, however, in Shakespeare scholarship in recent years has been away from the study and back to the stage. So far has this trend gone even with the scholars that G. B. Harrison in his list of recommended commentaries omits Bradley. Granville-Barker's essays were pioneers in forcing the realization that Shakespeare's plays had other meanings, often quite different, when viewed in the light of how they were acted in Shakespeare's theatres and what their meaning could have been to Shakespeare's audience. Since Shakespeare obviously wrote the plays primarily for his Company rather than for readers, it was not surprising that when Granville-Barker, the experi-

enced stage manager and producer, set forth his interpretations, he should provide a wholesome corrective to a Shakespeare interpretation too closely confined to the library.

Among numerous instances that might be cited did space permit, an outstanding example to illustrate this difference in approach may be found in the treatment of *King Lear*. Bradley complains about the inconsistencies and the confusion of this Gothic structure and reiterates the traditional verdict from Charles Lamb that it is better left to our imaginations in the quiet of the study. This complaint of Romantic and Impressionist critics from Lamb to Virginia Wolff that generally stage presentations destroy the imaginative pleasure of the play, Granville-Barker counters with the short statement: "Shakespeare meant it [*Lear*] to be acted, and he was a very practical playwright." He goes on to demonstrate that the difficulties for nineteenth century critics arose from never having seen other than various garbled versions; for actors it lay in their attempts to adapt Shakespeare to a five-act pattern on an upholstered, drop-curtained stage; and that to restore Shakespeare to his rightful meaning, his plays should be given rapidly and continuously with possibly only one pause in the middle. Stripped of eighteenth and nineteenth century theatre conventions and restored to Shakespeare's less elaborately decorated stage, many of the confusions and inconsistencies either disappear or serve to convey exactly the impression Shakespeare wished to give. Shakespeare, knowing from his practical experience in the theatre that they would not be noticed, never troubled to iron out the various inconsistencies of character or scene over which Bradley and numerous other critics have spent much labor and ink endeavoring vainly to reconcile what Shakespeare left unreconciled. Granville-Barker believed that before we begin to tamper with a play like *Lear* and cut out what is not to our taste, we should begin with the assumption that Shakespeare knew what he was doing. When his plays are properly staged, approximating the productions of his own day, a great many of the problems of Shakespeare scholars disappear. A valuable review with illustrations of these nineteenth century and modern efforts is provided by M. St. Clare Byrne, Lecturer in the History of Theatrical Art, Royal Academy of Dramatic Art.² Here we observe the varied attempts at profuse historical or antiquarian representations of Irving and Tree, the succeeding efforts at realism, followed by the return of William Poel and Granville-Barker to the Elizabethan tradition. So potent has become this

Elizabethan vogue that movements are afoot to build a reconstructed Globe or similar playhouse on the Bankside or in Stratford.

To Bradley's contention that "the *storm-scenes* in *King Lear* gain nothing", [from presentation] "and their *essence* is destroyed." Granville-Barker replies:

"Shakespeare may (it can be argued) have set himself an impossible task; but if he is to succeed it will only be by these means. In this mid-crisis of the play he must never relax his emotional hold on us. And all these things of which Bradley complains, the confusion of pathos, humor and sublime imagination, the vastness of the convulsion, the vagueness of the scene and the movements of the characters, the strange atmosphere and the half-realized suggestions—all this he needs as material for *Lear's* experience and ours" . . . "If the verity of his ordeal is really to be brought home to us, we must, in as full a sense as may be, pass through it with him, must make the experience and its overwhelming emotions momentarily our own."

Apparently there will always be this alternating emphasis upon Shakespeare as Poet for the library, and Shakespeare as Dramatist for the playhouse with excellent books of interpretation in each sphere. We see in Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare*, a worthy successor of the Bradley approach with slight reference to the theatre and in Margaret Webster's *Shakespeare Without Tears*, a brilliant follower of Granville-Barker in preachment and practice.

To restore for us in this way the dramatic and the emotional meaning of Shakespeare in the theatre was Granville-Barker's magnificent achievement and no Shakespeare reader can afford to be ignorant of it.

Lehigh University

¹*Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Vol. 1, *Hamlet, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, Antony and Cleopatra, Cymbeline*; Vol. II, *Othello, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour's Lost*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1947. \$5.00 a volume.

²*Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1949.

SHAKESPEAREAN COMEDY

By Thomas Marc Parrott, Oxford University Press, 1949.xi-417pp.

BY MARY C. HYDE

A strain of comedy appears to run through almost all of Shakespeare's plays, following the tradition of mingled comedy and tragedy in early English drama. These observations, coupled with another, that "no historical and systematic treatment of Shakespearean comedy exists", are responsible for Professor Parrott's knowledgeable and detailed book on the subject, which he has dedicated to fellow members of the distinguished Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia.

Professor Parrott makes it clear from the the outset that he wishes to handle his subject according to a conventionally objective method. This calls for a review of the medieval and renaissance drama forms, a resumé of the known facts of Shakespeare's early years, and a report upon the theatre and theatre problems which confronted the playwright as an apprentice. After this full introduction, the reader is given, in small groupings according to genre, and in approximately chronological order, a play by play recital of the Shakespeare canon. In the discussion of each play, the source is stated if known, the original plot reviewed, and Shakespeare's interpretation of it examined, with a notation of the success or failure of his play both at the hands of the sixteenth century and of modern audiences. In the final paragraph of each description Professor Parrott points out the instances of comedy that occur in action, speech, and character. After the reader has completed his survey of thirty-four plays, it is expected that he can understand clearly the method of Shakespeare's comedy.

Unfortunately, this is not so. In the case of the history play, if one gathers together Professor Parrott's scattered comments on comedy, one finds: of *Henry VI Part I* "Needless to say we look in vain for comedy in the scenes assigned to Shakespeare . . ." (p.209) In the Second Part of *Henry VI* two comic scenes are described: the exposure of Simpcox; and the argument between Horner and Peter; and the serio-comic figure of Cade is noted. Of *Henry VI Part III* Professor Parrott says "There is not a single scene that can be classed as

comic in effect, such as those already noted in the Second Part of *Henry VI*". (p.218) Very little comedy is found in *Richard III*. "Yet when all has been said and every grain of comic matter sifted out from *Richard III*, the fact remains that in this play Shakespeare is not quite himself". (p.222) The reader wonders what this means, for the foregoing examples have been noted according to Professor Parrott's chronology.

Following this chronology, the next play is *King John* of which Professor Parrott says, in commenting upon its source which contained considerable crude humor, "All this comic matter disappears in Shakespeare's adaptation. What remains of the comic? Not a great deal, to tell the truth, but enough to show that Shakespeare is moving away from the almost unmixed tragic tone of *Richard III*". (p.225) In *Richard II* Professor Parrott finds "a curious absence of anything like comedy." (p.230)

It is with the so-called Falstaff plays, *Henry IV* Parts I and II that comedy for the first time assumes a dominant position. Professor Parrott says of *Henry IV Part I* "The comedy of this serious chronicle play has been furnished by the action, the words, and the character of Falstaff." (p.244) In the Second Part of *Henry IV*, due to the extraordinary power of this character "comedy triumphs over history". (p.263) However, in *Henry V* comedy is assigned to the minor Falstaff characters. "Falstaff's name is not even mentioned in the first act", and in the second he is dispatched by death.

In view of the record one wonders how abundant comedy is in Shakespeare's history plays. The influence of medieval tradition is surely less than the influence of Marlowe. Professor Parrott says "There is little of comedy to be found in Shakespeare's histories until he has definitely won free from Marlowe's influence." (p.206) This being so, a discussion of contemporary histories would be more pertinent than a review of medieval custom, for Shakespeare as a practical playwright was influenced primarily by methods which were currently successful. In undertaking the history form it is natural that he followed popular patterns. This supposition, when applied to his desire to write in the fashionable satiric form, as easily accounts for his handling of those plays which Professor Parrott refers to as "the problem comedies".

In considering Shakespeare's tragedy one again finds the comic element less pervasive than one had imagined. "... little enough, of comedy in action, speech, and character" . . . "can be gleaned from *Titus*." (p.197) Of *Julius Caesar*, "There was no place for the laughter of comedy in such a play as this." (p.277) In *Othello* Professor Parrott finds an almost complete absence of comedy, as he does in *Timon of Athens*. There is "little of comic action" though "plenty of comedy in speech" in *Coriolanus*. (p.332) Of *Pericles* "... what comic matter can be found in (Shakespeare's) share of the play. The answer seems to be little or nothing." (p.374)

It is obvious, then, that in a number of Shakespeare's tragedies there is little evidence of comedy. Is this fact obscured by our familiarity with celebrated instances of its use: the comedy arising from certain characters: the Nurse, Peter, and Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*; the Fool and Edgar in *Lear*; Polonius, the players, the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*; the Porter in *Macbeth*; Enobarbus and the Clown in *Antony and Cleopatra*? Why it is that comedy is so effectively used in these tragedies and is conspicuously lacking in others? Did Shakespeare's consummate sense of theatre preclude his use of the medieval type of tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth? In what ways did his use of comedy in tragedy differ from Chapman's and Jonson's? How did it differ from Middleton's "divertisement"? Did Shakespeare's concentration upon the tragic theme make him fearful of employing comedy until he had mastered a form integral to tragedy—irony? Are not the famous instances of comedy examples of irony, the bitter laughter which does not weaken but strengthens the force of total tragic impact?

Such questions Professor Parrott does not offer to discuss. His summation of the evidence is brief, a conclusion limited to six and a half pages, perhaps final testimony of his objective method. If so, his refusal to analyze the facts as fully as he demonstrated them is sorely missed by those not as well qualified to interpret the findings as is this eminent Shakespeare scholar, teacher, and editor.

However, though the reader may have to look further for an interpretation of Shakespearean comedy, he will be grateful for an interesting course in Shakespeare, one which stresses his problems as a playwright. Professor Parrott has been most successful in fulfilling his promise to give a glimpse of Shakespeare's workshop, in which

discussion, it may be added, considerable use has been made of bibliographical detail. It is refreshing to find a scholar who has respect for such matter and a realization of its effect and importance. The book is written in an easy, readable style, reflecting the knowledge and good nature of someone who has been a friend of Shakespeare's for many years.

PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA

BY E. B. EVERITT

The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia begins the publication of what is expected to be an annual volume of Papers, the first of which is dated 1948-1949. (Non-members may purchase Volume I for \$3.50.) Paper-bound and rather sensitive to soiling, the first issue is a beautiful meeting of fine paper, excellent type, and craftsmanship in press work. The thorough reader will be annoyed at narrowness of the margins next to the spine, which were better calculated for a pamphlet than a two-hundred page book.

The book carries some half-dozen essays of interest to Elizabethans. The most searching study is Gerald J. Eberle's investigation of the printing of *Nosce Terpsum*, an excellent inferential reconstruction. It illustrates well the degree to which some scholars in their eager quest for certainties have been drawn from literature proper to the more palpable evidence of the old job-printing shops.

Giles E. Dawson contributes notes and reduced facsimiles for three eighteenth century forgeries of Shakespearean plays; James G. McManaway offers an interesting account of the recently discovered Sandys' translation of the *Metamorphoses*, (the first five books, printed 1621); and Philip Williams with the limited evidence of variant spellings of *Ile,—y*, and *do* infers that the "Pied Bull" *Lear* quarto was set up by a single compositor.

Lehigh University



NOTES & COMMENT

IT is a commonplace that the greatest drama has been produced in eras of expanding economy and some political stability; eras when there is a large and responsive public ready and able to support the stage. Such times should certainly make a prosperous *theatre*—and one would naturally turn to the wealthy and educated American public as a spur to one of the most creative theatres of modern times.

But this is not the case. Shakespearean productions might well be considered, for this country and England, the test of a nation's interest in the best of the past, and its ability to sponsor an active stage. And yet, in this as in other affairs theatrical, the American theatre lags far behind. A brief glance at the productions of Shakespeare in this season alone will prove that with all its economic stresses and strains, the English audience is supporting and witnessing dramatic production such as this country rarely sees.

For the brightest light on the American Shakespearean scene we have England to thank—Margaret Webster's touring repertory, her Shakespeare on Wheels, is doing for this country what countless British troupes have done throughout England every year. She has broadened Shakespeare's audience, which formerly witnessed only big city presentations on the one hand, and amateur productions on the other. Now *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, professionally cast and produced, are playing in towns and colleges all over the country, on high school stages, in university auditoriums, and town halls; for the summer months the American Shakespeare Company will play in stock theatres as well.

Broadway this year beheld Richard Whorf's *King Richard III* for a short run, after a successful appearance in Boston, under the Boston Repertory Association. Outside of the British *Hamlet* film, this production marks the extent of professional Shakespeare in New York. The Barter Theatre toured with Robert Breen in *Hamlet*, and there is talk in the wind of a Madeleine Carroll *Merchant of*

Venice in the Theatre Guild next season. Also noted is Percy Mac-kaye's work, *Hamlet, King of Denmark*, which played at the Pasadena Playhouse under the direction of Gilmor Brown in April (See SAB, April, 1949). And while mentioning Shakespeare derivatives, we should list the Broadway hit, *Kiss Me, Kate*, the musical revamping that Cole Porter gave *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Against this, here is a partial roster of the British scene: In January, Laurence Olivier played *Richard III* at the New Theatre in London. Donald Wolfit's Repertory Company played at the Bedford Theatre in Camden Town, with a large group of plays including *King Lear*, *Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth*, *Much Ado*, *Merry Wives*, and others. He had Rosalind Iden and Patricia Jessel in his cast. The Glasgow Citizen's Theatre played *Macbeth*; the Sheffield Playhouse, *Twelfth Night*; and in Perth *As You Like It* was presented. This last presentation was among the Young Vic productions of the play on tour—(See illustration, SAB, April, 1949). The Nottingham Theatre Trust Ltd., played *Twelfth Night*, the Bristol Old Vic Company toured with *Romeo and Juliet*, the Maddermarket in Norwich beheld *Richard II* in February, and, moving over into the Empire, Sir Laurence Olivier took a repertory to Australia. And Coventry beheld *The Merchant of Venice*. There are of course, other productions not listed both in America and England, but the proportion is about as it stands here.

And yet it is not true that there is no interest in Shakespeare in this country. We simply have to look further than the professional stage. It is in the University Theatres, in the Experimental Group Theatres and the Playhouses that we find an active interest in the classics and the greats of drama, not the Bard alone. Here, too, we can give only a partial listing, but enough to show that there is considerable activity that must not be overlooked in evaluating the American scene. The Amherst *Julius Caesar*, presented in cooperation with the Folger Library on their Shakespearean stage, received notice in these pages in the April issue. This was televised, thus reaching a much larger public than the Swan of Avon is accustomed to finding in the U.S.; it even made *Life*—an unprecedented triumph for the Classics! Perhaps the most important amateur job is that done by the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, an annual summer affair, presenting a series of plays in August, including as great a mixture of Shakespearean types of drama as can be crammed into the repertory.

Other colleges throughout the country produce Shakespearean plays one at a time; they included, in this winter alone, the following roster: University of Missouri Workshop, *Twelfth Night*, College of St. Catherine, *Romeo and Juliet*; University of North Dakota, *Twelfth Night*; University of Indiana, *As You Like It*; the Richmond Professional Institute, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Hamlet*, these with the College of William and Mary. Hamline University gave *Winter's Tale*; University of Maryland, *Taming of the Shrew*, University of Nebraska *Othello*; Cornell, *Macbeth*; NYU, *As You Like It*, *Julius Caesar*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*; University of Texas, *Richard II* and *Romeo and Juliet*, Utah State College *Merchant of Venice*; Oregon State, *Macbeth*; Wayne University, *King Lear*; Ithaca College, *Julius Caesar*; University of Minnesota, *Macbeth*, University of Wichita, *Taming of the Shrew*, and the University of Virginia, *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

All these productions, and above all, Margaret Webster's tour, have proved that there is an audience for Shakespeare even beyond the Mississippi—that he does not need the lights of Broadway or the reviews of a select group of city critics.

Laurie Strauss

The Shakespeare Association acknowledges with pleasure the receipt from England of the annual series entitled *Shakespeare Survey* (1949). Like its predecessor, it contains a review of Shakespeare in scholarship and in the theatre, and includes a number of valuable special studies. Among these are M. St. Clare Byrne's *Fifty Years of Shakespeare Production*, an account of the fashions in Shakespearean Production: 1898-1948, accompanied by illustrations extending from the sumptuous stagings of Henry Irving and Beer-bohm Tree to the simpler ones of William Poel and Granville-Barker, followed by Shakespeare in modern dress, sets of the Old Vic, 1935-1938 and of the Shakespeare Memorial theatre, 1949, etc. The study inevitably shows that "the play's the thing"—that Shakespeare remains Shakespeare, however upholstered or bare the production may be. To look at the illustrations is to wish that it were possible to turn back the hand of time and attend all the performances.

R. C. Bald reviews in detail the controversial evidence over Shakespeare's hand in the manuscript of Sir Thomas More and con-

cludes that the evidence for the identity of the writing called D and Shakespeare's is stronger than any that has been made out for their being different, and that the essential case for Shakespeare's hand in the play remains substantially intact.

Elizabeth Marie Pope attempts a reconstruction of the Renaissance background with reference to which the audience witnessing *Measure for Measure* must have passed judgment on the moral issues of the play. The limitations that Renaissance doctrine set on charity and forbearance, the discrepancy between the concepts of religious mercy and secular justice lead the author to the conclusion that Shakespeare, in *Measure for Measure*, clarified and strengthened the ordinary Christian doctrine of the age, held it true to its own deepest implications, and exemplified "a more Christian piece of thinking on the subject than nine out of ten professional Renaissance theologies."

One of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, Sister Monica, Ph.D., has been requested by the Vatican to send examples of her scholarly contributions for the Literary Exhibit to take place next year on the occasion of Pius XII's Jubilee. The Shakespeare Association congratulates Sister Monica on this recognition of her scholarship.

The Shakespeare Association learns with regret the passing of our Honorary Vice-President, Fritz Leiber, on October 14. Receiving the torch from Ben Greet and Robert Mantell, for years he carried on valiantly the tradition of Shakespeare repertory in America, playing with success numerous leading roles, among the memorable ones being Iago, King Lear and Macbeth. Of all the characters, he averred Macbeth was the most exacting for the actor. To live through and project the prolonged and excruciating "torture of the mind in restless ecstasy," left Leiber exhausted. The sheer malignancy of Iago's triumph in defeat, "From this time forth I never will speak word", was, in Leiber's opinion, a high point in Shakespeare's art. It is regrettable that the Shakespeare Repertory which was projected in Chicago in the Insull days of patronage came to naught; for Leiber, who was chosen to lead the group, would have created a permanent center of Shakespeare interest in the Middle West.



MEETING OF SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.

A special meeting of the Members of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc. was held at 26 East 63rd Street, New York, N. Y. on October 17, 1949, at 3 p.m. While the attendance in person was small, a gratifying number of members forwarded proxies. After the meeting was called to order, the following letter from Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was read:

October 12, 1949

For over fifteen years I have been President of The Shakespeare Association of America and feel it is about time that younger people take over the office. I have been ill for over a year and cannot give the attention to it that the Association deserves. I am sure that in other hands the Association will prosper and not only spread the fame of Shakespeare but will add valuable contributions to Shakespearean scholarship.

The Bulletin has greatly improved during the past year not only in appearance but in literary content. Some of the great scholars in this country and abroad have contributed most valuable articles to it and I am sure this should be continued with even greater results.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely,

(signed) A. S. W. Rosenbach

Great appreciation was voiced by those present for the services of Dr. Rosenbach during his long tenure as President and the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, that the members of The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., in meeting assembled, hereby express their deep appreciation to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for his long and devoted service as President of the Association; for his generosity; for his continuous interest in the Association and the fulfillment of its pur-

poses; and for his maintenance of the Association during times of world trouble and stress, and

FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Dr. Rosenbach.

The Treasurer of the Association, Dr. James G. McManaway, read a financial report which was approved by the meeting. The report showed that the Association is in need of additional funds and it was agreed that new members should be sought and other means found for improvement of the financial situation.

A proposed program for simplifying the organization of the Association was presented, after which the old By-Laws and Rules were repealed and new By-Laws adopted. The text of the new By-Laws appears in this edition of the Bulletin.

Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Robert M. Smith, John F. Fleming and Donald F. Hyde were elected Directors of the Association to serve until the next annual meeting.

The new Directors convened immediately after the adjournment of the meeting of members and voted to continue on the rolls the Honorary members listed in the Bulletin for October, 1948. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was elected Honorary President and John H. H. Lyon, First Honorary Vice President.

The following active officers were appointed:

PRESIDENT	Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.
VICE PRESIDENT	Donald F. Hyde
SECRETARY & TREASURER	John F. Fleming

The Directors named as members of the Editorial Board, established in the new By-Laws, Professor Robert M. Smith,, Chairman, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Dr. James G. McManaway, Dr. Giles E. Dawson and Dr. Virgil Heltzel. Mr. Robert F. Herrick was appoint-

ed Managing Editor of the Bulletin and Mr. Sidney Thomas, Bibliographical Editor.

The following appointments were made to the Advisory Board:

James G. McManaway, Chairman	
Thomas W. Baldwin	Robert A. Law
Hardin Craig	Thomas Marc Parrott
Madeline Doran	Henry N. Paul
John W. Draper	George F. Reynolds
Maurice Evans	Hyder E. Rollins
Willard E. Farnham	Matthias A. Schaaber
George B. Harrison	Elmer E. Stoll
William T. Hastings	George C. Taylor
Arthur Heine	Margaret Webster

Other appointments will follow.

At the meetings of both the members and the directors there was evident great enthusiasm and interest in the Association and the work it is performing. The new officers and directors have started plans for the coming year for the continued improvement of the Bulletin and the other activities of the Association.

BY-LAWS

of

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.

I

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. The members of this association shall be the incorporators of the Association and such persons as may hereafter be elected to membership by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 2. The members shall be divided into the following classes:

Honorary Members: Those distinguished in Arts or Letters whom the Board of Directors may elect to such membership.

Patrons: Those who shall have donated \$1,000 to the Association for general use of the Association or for such use as the Board of Directors and the donor may agree upon.

Life Members: Those who shall have contributed \$100 for the support of the Association.

Sustaining Members: \$10.00.

Active Members: \$3.00.

SECTION 3. Any member in good standing may resign from the Association upon payment of accrued dues and indebtedness.

SECTION 4. At its discretion the Board may drop any person from membership.

SECTION 5. Any member who resigns his membership or who is dropped or who otherwise ceases to be a member, shall thereupon and thereby forfeit all his rights in the Association and in its property and franchises.

SECTION 6. Notices to members mailed to their addresses as recorded in the Association's records shall be valid for all purposes.

II

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

SECTION 1. Any organization whose activities are in accord with the aims of the Association and whose membership is of such character as to merit such recognition may upon invitation become an Affiliated organization.

SECTION 2. An Affiliated organization, 100% of whose members are members of the Association shall be classed as a Sustaining organization.

III

DUES

SECTION 1. Honorary Members, Patrons and Life Members shall be exempt from payment of dues.

SECTION 2. Each Sustaining Member shall pay annual dues of \$10.00 and each Active Member shall pay annual dues of \$3.00.

SECTION 3. The period covered by the annual dues shall be from Jan. 1 to Jan. 1 and dues paid within three months before Jan. 1 shall cover the period to Jan. 1 of the following year.

IV MEETINGS OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. The Annual Meeting of the members of this Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May of each year beginning with the year 1950, at such hour as shall be designated in the call and notice thereof, at the principal office of the Association or at such convenient place in the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as may be designated by the President.

SECTION 2. Notice of the time and place of the Annual Meeting of members shall be given by mailing written or printed notices of the same at least ten days prior to the meeting.

SECTION 3. At least ten days before the date of the annual meeting the Secretary shall report to the members the nominations which shall have been made by the Nominating Committee; and also the names of other nominees for the Board which nominations shall have been made in writing subscribed by at least thirty members of the Association and filed with the Secretary at least three weeks before the date of the annual meeting. The names of the members making such nominations shall be reported in the notice to the members.

SECTION 4. At all meetings of the members each member, except Honorary members, shall be entitled to cast one vote in person or by proxy on each question submitted at the meeting, and one vote for each place on the Board of Directors, provided that no member shall have the right of cumulative voting in the election of directors. One-third of the members of the Association or, if one-third be nine or more, nine of the members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any annual or special meeting of the members of the Association, but the members present at any meeting thereof less than a quorum may adjourn the meeting from time to time. The President and Secretary of the Association shall act as President and Secretary of each meeting of the members unless the meeting shall otherwise decide.

SECTION 5. Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the President or Vice-President upon ten days' notice being given by the Secretary to each member.

SECTION 6. Every member entitled to vote may vote by proxy. Only a member present in person may act as such proxy.

V DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. The property, business and affairs of the Association shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Directors which shall consist of five members. The Board of Directors shall have, in addition to the powers and authority expressly conferred upon it by these By-Laws, the right, power and authority to exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the Association as an association not for profit organized under the Membership Corporations Law of New York.

SECTION 2. The first Board of Directors after the passage of these By-Laws shall be elected at the special meeting of the Association where such By-Laws are adopted and shall hold office until the annual meeting of members to be held in 1950 and until their successors shall have been elected and shall qualify. Thereafter the Board of Directors shall be elected from the members at each annual meeting of members.

SECTION 3. If the office of any Director becomes vacant by reason of death, resignation, disqualification or inability to act or otherwise, the Board of Directors by a majority vote may elect a successor who shall hold office until his successor shall have been elected and shall qualify.

SECTION 4. No person shall be eligible to the office of Director who is not a member of the Association.

SECTION 5. At its discretion the Board of Directors may remove any officer and any member of the Advisory Board, the Editorial Board or a Committee.

SECTION 6. The Board of Directors shall appoint the Advisory Board, the Editorial Board and all standing committees and may appoint such other committees as it deems advisable.

SECTION 7. No director shall receive any remuneration for his services.

SECTION 8. The Board of Directors shall designate the trust companies or banks in which the money or securities of the Associa-

tion shall be deposited. They shall designate the manner in which the funds of the Association are to be expended, and authorize the contribution to educational, charitable, and literary funds or projects and the manner in which such contributions shall be made.

SECTION 9. The Board of Directors shall cause a fair record of all its business to be kept, a report of which, prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Membership Corporations Law, shall be presented at each annual meeting.

VI

MEETINGS OF DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. The Board of Directors shall hold one regular annual meeting during each calendar year immediately following the annual meeting of members. No notice of such annual meeting need be given if it is convened immediately following the annual meeting of members.

SECTION 2. Special meetings of the Directors may be called by the President or by any two Directors on twenty-four hours' telephone notice to each Director, or on three days' notice by telegraph to each Director, or on seven days' written notice by mail to each Director.

SECTION 3. The Directors may, as they may from time to time by resolution determine, hold their meetings, regular or special, at any place other than the office of the Association and may at any such meeting transact any and all business pertaining to the Association. Unless otherwise provided in the notice of the meeting, all meetings of the Directors shall be held at the principal office of the Association in the City of New York, N. Y.

SECTION 4. Three Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting, but a majority of those present may adjourn any meeting from time to time without notice until a quorum is present. Any action taken or authorized by a vote of a majority of the Directors present at any meeting duly called and convened at which a quorum is present, will have the same force and effect as if all the Directors had been present and had taken or authorized such action.

SECTION 5. Any Director may waive notice of any meeting and attendance of such Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting.

VII

OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The Officers of the Association shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors held immediately following the annual meeting of members, and shall be an Honorary President, a President, as many Honorary Vice Presidents and Vice Presidents as the Board of Directors may determine, a Secretary and a Treasurer. Any two offices may be held by the same person except the office of President. The Board of Directors may appoint such other officers and agents as it shall deem necessary.

SECTION 2. No salary shall be paid to any officer of the Association.

SECTION 3. Any officer elected by the Board of Directors may be removed at any time by the affirmative vote of a majority of the Board of Directors present at any duly constituted meeting whenever in its judgment the best interests of the Association will be served thereby.

SECTION 4. A vacancy in any office by reason of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

VIII

POWERS AND DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Association. He shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors and of the members. He shall have general supervision, direction and active management of the business and affairs of the Association. He shall see that all orders or resolutions of the Board of Directors are carried into effect. He shall execute all contracts, deeds, bonds and other instruments in writing authorized by the Board of Directors. He shall have the general powers of supervision and management usually vested in the office of the President of an

association not for profit under the Membership Corporations Law of New York.

SECTION 2. During the absence or disability of the President, the Vice Presidents, in the order designated by the Board of Directors shall exercise all the functions of the President. Each Vice-President shall have such powers and discharge such duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 3. The Treasurer shall have custody of all of the funds and securities of the Association. He shall take such steps as may be necessary to collect moneys becoming due to the Association. When necessary and proper he shall endorse on behalf of the Association all checks, notes or other obligations and evidences of the payment of money payable to the Association or coming into his possession, and shall deposit the funds arising therefrom, together with all other funds of the Association coming into his possession, in banks as may be selected as the depositories of the Association, or properly care for them in such manner as the Board of Directors may direct. Whenever required by the Board of Directors or by the President so to do, he shall exhibit a complete and true statement of his cash account and of the securities and other property in his possession, custody and control. He shall enter regularly in the books belonging to the Association and to be kept by him for such purpose an accurate account of all money received and paid by him on account of the Association together with all other business transactions. He shall perform all duties which are incident to the office of Treasurer of an Association not for profit, subject, however, at all times to the direction and control of the Board of Directors and the President.

SECTION 4. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Association under the supervision of the President and the Board of Directors, including the permanent record of all minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors and of all minutes of meetings of the members, which minutes shall be signed by him as Secretary; he shall also keep the membership roll of the Association in the minute book of the Association setting forth the names of the members of the Association. He shall have charge of all such additional books and papers as the Board of Directors may direct. He shall in general perform all such duties as are incident to the office of a Secretary of an association not for profit under the Membership Corporations Law of New York.

IX

ADVISORY BOARD: EDITORIAL BOARD: STANDING COMMITTEES

SECTION 1. There shall be an Advisory Board which shall consist of not more than thirty to be appointed annually by the Board of Directors who shall be primarily selected for their scholarship and prominence in the culture of Shakespeare, in his writings and in the performance of his plays.

SECTION 2. There shall be an Editorial Board which shall consist of a Chairman to be elected by the Board of Directors and four others to be appointed by the Board of Directors. It shall be in complete charge of the editing and publication of the bulletin of the Association. It shall report to the Board of Directors whenever so requested by the Board of Directors and may make such other reports as it may desire.

SECTION 3. There shall be a Nominating Committee which shall consist of three members, at least one of whom shall be a member of the Board of Directors. It shall elect its own Chairman. This Committee shall file with the Secretary at least three weeks before the time of the annual meeting, its nominations for members of the Board of Directors to be elected at such annual meeting.

SECTION 4. Each of the other Standing Committees shall consist of a Chairman who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors from its own members or from the Vice-Presidents, and such other members as shall be appointed by the Board upon the nomination of the Chairman of that Committee. The President shall ex-officio be a member of all such Committees.

SECTION 5. Each Standing Committee shall keep a record of its proceedings and subject to the approval of the Board, may adopt rules governing the general conduct of its business.

X

SECTION 1. The principal office of the Association shall be at 61 Broadway in the City of New York.

XI

FISCAL YEAR

SECTION 1. The fiscal and business year of the Association shall be the calendar year.

XII

AMENDMENT TO BY-LAWS

SECTION 1. These by-laws, or any of them may be altered, amended, or repealed by the vote of a majority of the Board of Directors at any regular or special meeting.



HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER
(See Review, Page 291)

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCORPORATED

I suggest that you send The Shakespeare Association Bulletin and membership blanks to the following friends who may be interested in joining:

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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
INCORPORATED

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322 E. 57th Street
New York, N. Y.

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